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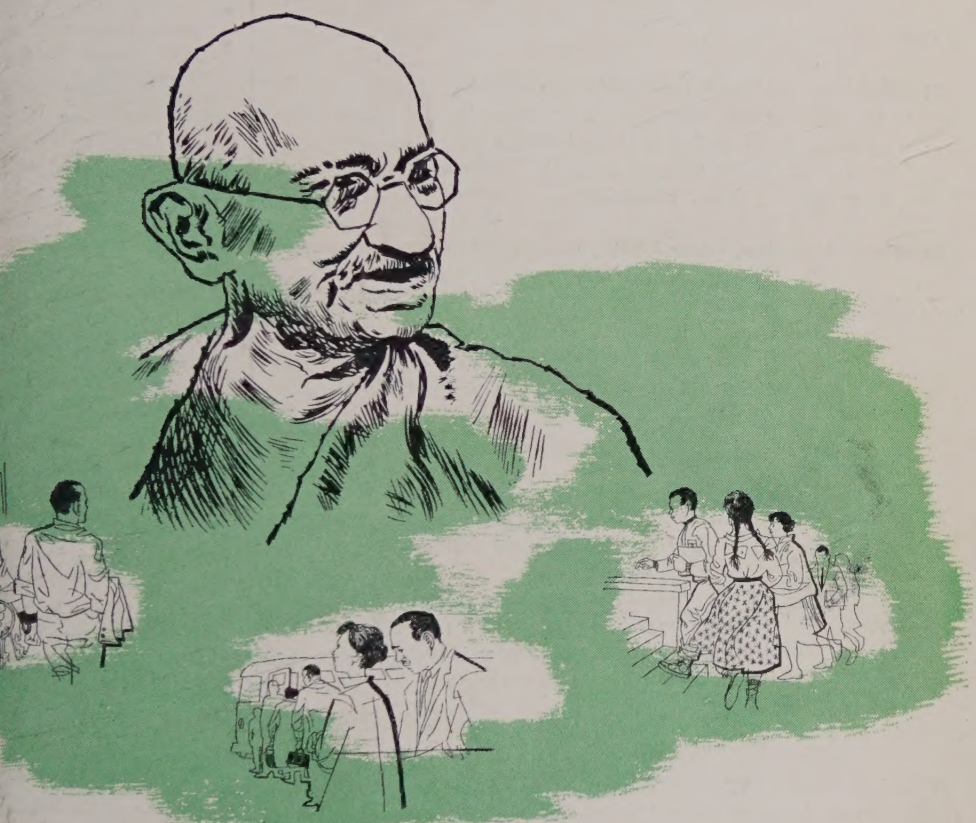

Wofford Jr.

NVIOLENCE AND THE LAW

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Richard B. Gregg — TESTING NONVIOLENCE
Vinoba Bhave — STRENGTH FOR PEACE
Shankar's Weekly — MOSCOW'S MAN OF THE YEAR
. Ashley Montagu — MAN AND THE SOCIAL APPETITE
E. R. Stabler — DR. TELLER REFUTES HIS OWN CASE

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

ON THE CURRENT SCENE

BEL

'e are prone this month, if you will nit, to spend some of this precious e remarking on the natural phenom- n known as A. J. Muste.

. J. reached the age of 68 a few years and, herded along by well-wishers who ight that anybody who had spent so consistently rowing against the cur- ought to have a chance to rest on his for a while, retired as executive sec- ry of FOR. Ten minutes later, having nd the rest very refreshing indeed, he about for another set of oars.

nce then, A. J. has been simultaneously art-time member of the national staff, etary for the New York City FOR, ioner for the Church Peace Mission, editor and chief blood donor for *eration*, member of various boards and mittees, and organizer and national rman of the American Forum—for So- st Education. (Nobody we know has figured out what the hyphen is for, but 's the official name.)

'e watched him Good Friday night, ming down at 500 or more crazy young ple who had come to help needle the erican and Soviet governments into celing further tests of nuclear weapons. e of the kids had just finished walking n New Haven or Philadelphia, and a of them from walking over to the UN, demonstrate their protest. The whole of the "walk for peace" was a cloth- led notion that could only bring ridi- on the pacifist movement, as various erer and younger men warned, but ., who is never happier than when he's a lot of crazy kids who want the ld made better in the next fifteen min- , said sure he'd be national chairman, the "walk" drew near a thousand par- ants and as much good publicity as hing pacifists have done in quite a le.

on Murray opened the meeting. He forgot to tell the audience who he was, perhaps because he was so busy telling them about A. J. Muste, whom he had met when he, Don, was having trouble convincing a draft board that an actor could be a sincere CO. Don Murray subsequently made one movie with Marilyn Monroe and became a household word with more people than A. J. has spoken to all his life, but he looked worshipfully at A. J. when he told about that long-gone conference.

Mr. Muste, he said, had told the conference how the presence of so many young people inspired him, "but it wasn't the young people who inspired *me*. It was Mr. Muste. It was the fact that here was a man who had been doing this all his life, and he wasn't sitting back and saying it was time for younger people to take over. He was right in there with us, and it was a great experience."

It wasn't a speech written by a Hollywood script-writer; it obviously came from the heart. A. J. grinned and, when it was his turn, stood up and told the audience to get out there and walk, to get out there and *do something* for peace, but before they left to dig down into their jeans and give enough to pay the walk's expenses. It was a typical Muste appearance.

ANTI-REBEL

The blood of rebellion flows hot in the aged Muste arteries, but it moves torpidly through the apprehensive veins of the venerable *Saturday Evening Post*. The editors of the *Post* are born octogenarians who like the world just as it is and distrust people who talk about changing it, whether in fifteen minutes or fifteen generations.

"Communist" is a word that conjures up black nightmares in the *Post* sanctum, and the dupes of the Communists stretch across a broad spectrum extending on the east a little farther than Calvin Coolidge. These things being so, it was hardly surprising that the *Post* took off editorially on Mr. Muste and his American Forum last Sep-

tember and again in March, labeling them "fronts" and "dupes" of the decimated comrades, the very thought of whose devious ways brings shudders to the editorialist.

Any producer who puts a lot of shows on the road is entitled to an occasional blooper, and it would be a charitable critic who would call the AF-fSE one of the more successful Muste productions. Not to put too fine a point on it, the Forum has yet to get off the ground, and as a viable threat to the American Way of Life it looms about as ominous as a damp firecracker. Nevertheless, the *Post* editors perceive accurately where the threat to their precious status quo rests, for the American Forum rests on a number of Mustean principles that pack the wallop of a fusion explosion.

One of those principles is that all men are precious in the sight of God and hence not to be excluded from the fellowship of men regardless of the labels they may wear. (A corollary of this is that all men carry within them the possibility of redemption, whether they are editors of the *Saturday Evening Post* or of *The Daily Worker*.)

Another principle is that one arrives at truth through the free sharing of ideas and opinions honestly presented, a view previously stated by the revolutionaries who formulated the Bill of Rights a couple of centuries ago.

The American Forum notion was that something valuable might happen if all the wild-eyed people who have been hollering down their own private rain-barrels about certain minor imperfections in the American Way of Life could get together and holler into the same barrel. (The only people A. J. loves more than crazy kids who want the world saved in fifteen minutes are the crazy old men and women who've been wanting the same thing for ninety years and haven't got discouraged yet!) The idea was that if they'd holler at each other they might begin to locate the little nodules of truth hidden away on the monsters of dialectic they had constructed.

Among the forty-odd rebels assembled to be the national committee of this new rain-barrel were some of the most articulate and vehement anti-Communist Socialis and liberals the country owns. There we also two Communists, both from the dis dent, disillusioned wing of the Commun Party. One of the two has since resign from the Party, and the other clings his teeth to the edge of comradely ceptance.

It is anybody's guess why a couple Communists recently disabused of th illusions about the Party would want spend time with a roomful of their be informed critics instead of creeping aw to lick their wounds. It is no cause astonishment, however, that in them *Post* should see complete justification maintaining that the Forum is a "fro and a "dupe." All the facts about Forum and Brother Muste have been p sented to the *Post* in an extensive excha of letters documenting the distortio omissions and manipulations of the e torials in question, but without percepti effect. The final word came the other d

"The writer of this editorial," repor the editor, "who has studied the Co munist movement for years, declares t he can see no conceivable reason to t exception to the statements we made c cerning the Forum. Nor do I."

POSTSCRIPT—J. E. HOOVER DIVISI

We don't want to take all this space write about Muste and his Forum,[1] *l'affaire Post* does bring to mind that Edgar Hoover a while back appeared fore a Congressional committee and s much the same kind of thing about th Many letters went to both Mr. Hoover members of the committee, protesting asking a chance to be heard. Mr. Hoo never did bother to reply, which is es cially interesting in the light of this p graph from his recent book, *Masters Deceit:*

"Too often have I seen cases where l and patriotic but misguided Americ have thought they were 'fighting com nism' by slapping the label of 'Red' 'Communist' on anybody who happe to be different from them or to have i with which they did not agree. Sm character assassination and the scatte

[1] A statement on the relations between the F and the FOR is available on request from FOR, 271, Nyack, N. Y.

irresponsible charges have no place in s nation. They create division, suspicion d distrust among loyal Americans—just at the Communists want—and hinder her than aid the fight against com-nism."

IT OF A CLUTTERED POCKET

Harry Golden, writing about the fire t destroyed the editorial offices and ords of his *Carolina Israelite,* bemoaned st the loss of two large packing cases h "hundreds and hundreds" of pieces paper on which he had written ideas for torials.[2] Every editorialist we know, in-ding this one, has some variation of the ne habit, and one of the more frustrat-aspects of life is to find some such items t didn't get in. We threw away a mess such notes recently, but a few seemed call for airing, if only briefly. To wit:

There is a publication of the Department Commerce called "Inventions Wanted the Armed Forces." Among them are as on aerial platforms ("for observation d missile launching"), a death ray effec-e at 500 yards, and "a radical new means putting out a massive atomic fire, which y start over several square miles and be read by blast winds of 100 miles per ur." An added sentence should be of rticular interest to Civil Defense people: raditional fire-fighting methods will be less against such a holocaust."

* * *

A letter from Germany carried postage ncellation reading "No Atomic Weapons Germany."

* * *

This one really deserves more space. The vy, reports the Pasadena (Cal.) *Star-ws,* has come up with the idea of build-underwater cities in the Great Lakes d other inland bodies of water, and on continental shelf of the ocean, as an ernative to underground bomb shelters. plentiful food supply would be avail-le, explained Commander George F. nd, from the algae found abundantly in sea.

[2] you didn't get your January-February issue of *Israelite* it's either because you haven't sub-bed, which is a mistake, or because your name and ress got burned up. In either case you ought to te Harry Golden, possibly enclosing three dollars, 1312 Elizabeth Avenue, Charlotte, N. C.

We've been puzzling about why this seems unrealistic to us, and believe we've come up with the answer. It goes back a long time, to when this writer was a little boy and watched his father "taking a dip" at the seashore. Neatly encased in knee-length bathing trunks, Dad would advance gingerly to the water's edge, at which point he would survey the prospect gloomily. Then he would take two steps into the sea, which brought him to about ankle depth, shudder, and stoop reluctantly to scoop up a handful of water which he would rub on his lower legs. This done, he would look up and down the beach on the off-chance that some emergency would require his immediate presence back on dry land, sigh, and advance a few feet farther. At this point he would produce a cigar from somewhere, poke it in his mouth and light it, thus insuring against the necessity of getting so deep that a stray bit of surf might douse his smoke.

The Navy probably doesn't know it, but there are millions of Americans who still look at the sea with the same mistrustful apprehension, and we just don't believe they'll ever be induced to go 150 feet underneath. Not in time, anyway.

* * *

Back a while ago—last October, to be precise—the Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier* paid a substantial if back-handed compliment to nonviolence in an editorial headed "Gandhi-Type Resistance May Prove to Be South's Best Counter Move." Arguing that the use of troops in Little Rock created a "police state," and that in a police state "open rebellion is suicide," the *News and Courier* recalled that "passive resistance pushed the British out of India," and urged white, anti-integration Southerners to keep it in mind.

The spectacle of integrationists and segregationists facing each other in nonviolent struggle is something to conjure with. It won't happen, though. What the South Carolina editor overlooked was that Gandhian action requires a devotion to truth and a commitment to sacrificial love. It would be hard to combine these with a line of stalwarts bending their efforts to keep a bunch of children out of school.

DELINQUENTS

Easily the best thing we have read on the touchy subject of juvenile delinquency was the series by Harrison Salisbury published in late March in *The New York Times*. Salisbury, formerly the *Times'* chief correspondent in the Soviet Union, did a remarkably fine job of reporting in depth which puts to shame many of the superficial judgments made by politicians and editorialists.[3]

Significantly, Salisbury and the people he interviewed return again and again to the relationship between gang activities and the society of which these adolescents are a part. The structure of the gang follows the political structure of a power state; the values are the values of a warring, materialistic culture.

"We try to make them act the way we don't," said one high school principal to the reporter. "We try to teach them to be generous, to believe in the sacredness of human life, to respect the rights of others. But the kids have eyes. They look around. They see that ultimately individuals and nations use force to solve their problems. We tell them about the old-fashioned virtues. But we do not practice them in private life, community life or in foreign relations."

[3] The *Times* has announced a reprinting of the Salisbury articles in pamphlet form at a price of 10c. Order from *The New York Times*, 229 West 43rd St., New York City.

POSTSCRIPT ON THE WALK

There is a sense of excitement in the air these days. A feeling of action pervades the pacifist movement; the challenge to the whole institution of war appears recurrently in newspapers and on television screens.

The Easter "walks for peace" are scheduled to be followed by a "walk to Washington" later this month. A handful of pacifists have already demonstrated at Cape Canaveral, and Fellowship staff members will direct a larger "vigil at Canaveral" starting late in June. Five pacifists are en route to the Soviet Union as this is written, intent on urging its citizens also to call for unconditional cessation of tests by their government. And the little ketch, the Golden Rule, sails westward to the t ing grounds in the Pacific, bearing the p tests of much of the world against the c tinuation of preparations for a war fr which there will be no return.

The cause of peace is looking up!

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Harris Wofford Jr. is a practicing lawyer. He and his wife, Clare, both ardent world federalists, visited India in the wake of independence and co-authored a book, *India Afire*, published in 1951. After completing his undergraduate studies at the University of Chicago, Wofford became one of the few white men to receive a law degree from predominantly Negro Howard University. Over the past decade, his close contact both with Negro affairs and with India have afforded him a unique insight into the nonviolent movement in the South.

Edith Lovejoy Pierce is an FOR member and the author of *Wings of the Morning*. Her poems have appeared in the *Christian Century* and elsewhere.

Richard B. Gregg is a member of the FOR Advisory Council and the author of *The Self Beyond Yourself*. His personal collaboration with Gandhi dates from the 1930s, and he has for many years maintained two residences—one in Vermont, the other in New Delhi. A leading interpreter of *satyagraha* to the West, he is the author of the classic *The Power of Nonviolence*, and *A Discipline for Nonviolence*.

Vinoba Bhave is a long-time coworker of Gandhi who, since 1951, has trudged thousands of miles throughout India, persuading landlords to donate literally millions of acres of land to impoverished peasants.

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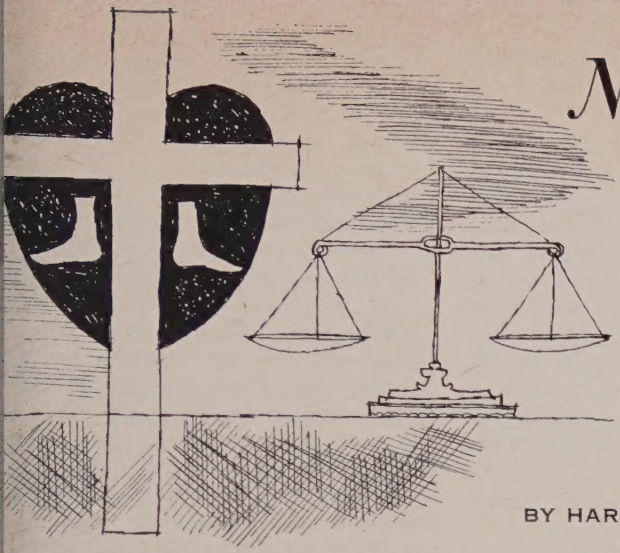


Nonviolence and the LAW

BY HARRIS WOFFORD JR.

S A LAWYER, I am convinced that the leadership in social change—particularly in bringing about the change in racial ationships now under way in this coun—must not be left to lawyers.

Ve lawyers have our function. We can ft laws and interpret them, we can try es in court and win legal decisions, we advise clients about their rights and end their rights with every clause of Constitution and every legal trick at command. But social change is not orarily one of our skills. For the most t we are trained to win cases or at least keep our clients out of jail, not to reistruct the relationships of a community, to change the minds and hearts of ople.

Yet unless people's minds and hearts are nged, what can the law do? "Public timent," Lincoln said, "is everything. th public sentiment, nothing can fail; hout it nothing can succeed. Consently he who moulds public sentiment s deeper than he who enacts statutes or nounces decisions. He makes statutes l decisions possible or impossible to be cuted."

The law is a teacher. People learn to ve on the right side of the street by ying the law requiring them to drive on t side. Without the working of the Conution, no amount of talk would have vinced Americans to abandon their pahial loyalties for a higher allegiance.

Today compliance with the Constitution is still the best instruction in our constitutional duties. Negroes voting will do more to change the habits and opinions of those who oppose such voting than any amount of talk. Children of all races going to school with each other will do more than anything else to persuade young people and their parents that integration can work.

Persuasion By Love

The question then is: what else can be done to mould public sentiment? How can we help the law? What can we do to break up the concentration of emotions on this issue, to disperse the hatred, violence and irrationality gathered around public school integration, to take the initiative out of the hands of racial demagogues, to release the forces of moderation, of ethics and sanity and Christianity, of respect for law?

This is where nonviolence and Gandhi and Martin Luther King and Ralph Abernathy and the Montgomery Improvement Association come in. It is time for NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall, a master craftsman whose legal victories have contributed greatly to the reconstruction of racial relationships in this country, to reconsider Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience*. For there must be further actions, in and out of court, that go deeper in moulding public sentiment. And for this the ministers of the gospel of the New Law, the law of Love, should step forward and

light new paths for their legal brethren who too often take a too narrow litigious view of the law.

The Supreme Court, thanks to the civil rights lawyers in our midst, has ordained justice. But human nature is recalcitrant stuff and once again, albeit in pale and distant imitation, it seems that in the agonizing way of the New Testament it is necessary for the word to become flesh. Christians call this the way of Love. Gandhi called it nonviolence, or as he put it, living the Sermon on the Mount. As a lawyer, I see it as a form of persuasion. And as a lawyer I would rather define what I mean by citing cases.

Gandhi and the Negro

In 1935 Dr. and Mrs. Howard Thurman, while visiting Gandhi, asked him to come to America—not for White America, but to help the Negro in his fight for civil rights. Gandhi said he had to make good the message of nonviolence in India first, but added that "it may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of nonviolence will be delivered to the world."

In 1951 a former associate of Gandhi, Rammanohar Lohia, visited this country, and to American Negroes and whites who wanted to advance civil rights he prescribed jail-going and nonviolent struggle against unjust racial laws and practices. To this, President Johnson of Fisk University replied that Negroes were too weak a minority and added that here we have the law and Constitution on our side, unlike the situation Lohia had faced in India. There are only a handful of Negroes in Montgomery who would stand together in any Gandhian struggle, sadly said that courageous Alabama NAACP leader, Mr. E. C. Nixon, himself a veteran of many struggles. When at Hampton Institute in November 1955 I happened to propose that the Negro and white of the South try the Gandhian way, a respected Negro leader who had known and loved Gandhi and who had tried to spread his message in America told me that he had about given up hope. The American Negro, everyone seemed to say, does not have the Gandhian dimension in him.

Then came the Montgomery bus b cott. And by Christmas 1955 the wo knew that the Negroes of Montgome Alabama, were talking with God, pray for those that opposed them, and regula rededicating themselves to the methods nonviolence. Mrs. Rosa Parks said that had been forced to move many times fore, but that, for some reason, "this ti I just didn't move." When the dri threatened to call the police she sa "Then just call them." With her arr the spark was struck that started the f great Gandhian fire in our midst.

A year later, the world knew that Negro of Montgomery had it in him. U der the inspired leadership of Martin ther King and his brother ministers, Gandhian alchemy, as in India and So Africa, made heroes out of common c The ratio of ministers to lawyers in Montgomery struggle, by the way, judg from those arrested, was 24 to 1.

Direct Action and Court Action

A year later the Supreme Court str down bus segregation in Montgomery unconstitutional. "All that walking nothing," said a lawyer friend of mi "They could just as well have waited wh the bus case went up through the cou without all the work and worry of boycott."

Would that have been better? Would have been better if 40,000 Negroes had spoken up against segregation with th prayers and their feet? Would it have be better if the ministers had never been rested, if the bombs had not been expl ed, if there had been a court victory w out a popular struggle?

That is a rhetorical question beca the Montgomery bus boycott was the m exciting and most significant thing t has happened in this country for a l time. Of course we are glad it happen A new element came into our national l New dignity was added to the fight civil rights. The words of the court t on substance and life, they had no hol ring from on high, because they were p of a human dialogue, because in Montg ery there was a deep human response, cause through the boycott public sentim

moulded so that it became possible to blish the law.

Ve know this instinctively, but we ıld do well to examine the nature of new element and understand its im- ations. What Martin Luther King has n us is the unadulterated message of violence which Gandhi wanted the Ne- s finally to deliver to the world. That sage can be summarized in these terms: accept personal responsibility for in- ice. We will take direct action against stice without waiting for the Govern- t to act or a majority to agree with us court to rule in our favor. We will obey unjust laws or submit to unjust ctices. We will do this peacefully, open- cheerfully, because our aim is to per- le. We adopt the means of nonviolence ause our end community at ce with itself. will try to suade with our rds, but if our rds fail we will to persuade h our acts. We l always be dy to talk and seek fair com- mise, but we also ready to er when neces- , to go to jail risk our lives, to become witnesses to the h as we see it.

The Heritage of Nonviolence

t first this may sound un-American, for ly we have been committed to wait n Congress and the courts—or the next tion—for the resolution of all our ubles. But Gandhi got his theory of l disobedience from Thoreau, and at t once before in our history when the was at another impasse, with the Dred tt decision and the Fugitive Slave Law, re was a fruitful era of nonviolent ac- n. The abolitionists awakened the con- nce of the nation and set the stage for coln by refusing to acquiesce in slavery. en Emerson came to ask Thoreau why was in jail, the Concord prisoner asked, "Why are you outside?" Prison, he said, was apparently the place for fugitive slaves, Mexican prisoners, Indians, and honest men. "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly," he wrote, "the true place for a just man is also a prison." Thoreau advised the abolitionists not to "wait till they constitute a majority of one." "It is enough," he said, "if they have God on their side, without waiting for that other one." "Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?" Thoreau asked. His answer was this: "If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go: perchance it will wear smooth . . . but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. . . . Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence."

In Western law and philosophy there is ample theoretical justification for this approach. "An unjust law is not a law," argued Aristotle, quoting Antigone. Aquinas, quoting Augustine, agreed, and added that human laws that are unjust because they are contrary to Divine Law or good ought nowise to be obeyed. St. Thomas was less sure of what to do about laws contrary to human good, such as laws imposing unequal burdens on the community. He held that such laws were not binding "in conscience" except perhaps to avoid "scandal or disturbance."

It is here that Gandhi, a British-trained lawyer, comes in, adding nonviolence as the method of resisting injustice. *Civil* disobedience, he demonstrated, is not subversive of the law, does not lead to the kind of scandal and disturbance St. Thomas feared. On the contrary, it involves the

highest possible respect for the law. If we secretly violated the law, or tried to evade it, or violently tried to overthrow it, that would be undermining the idea of law, Gandhi argued. But by openly and peacefully disobeying an unjust law and asking for the penalty, we are saying that we so respect the law that when we think it is so unjust that in conscience we cannot obey, then we belong in jail until that law is changed.

It seems to me this is good legal theory. Justice Holmes once argued even that a party to a private contract has a right to refuse to comply with the contract if he is ready to pay the penalty. I am not going that far. I do not say we have a right to break the social contract which is our legal system, except through constitutional amendments. But I am arguing that under our social contract man is to be free, and that a free man should look on each law not as a command but as a question, for implicit in each law is the alternative of obedience or of respectful civil disobedience and full acceptance of the consequences.

Law As a Challenge

Once men no longer believe that they as good citizens must obey any law passed by the legislature, no matter how bad, then they must ask themselves of each law, Is this a law that I should obey? Is it a just law? Is it so unjust that it needs to be resisted from its very inception, and cannot await the slow process of parliamentary reform? This choice we always have to make. It is the choice which makes us free.

I am talking about the freedom which Socrates felt on that morning when, having refused to obey the law abridging his freedom of speech but also refusing to evade the law by escaping from Athens, he peacefully drank the hemlock.

Perhaps I have reached a realm beyond the law. But this I think is the spirit of our laws. The principle of an aristocracy is honor, says Montesquieu; of a tyranny, it is fear, of a democracy, it is learning. The law will play its full role as a teacher only when we look upon it as a question. The law is not some final arbiter. It is the voice of our body politic with which we must remain in dialogue. For the proposition which we are dedicated is self-governme We must respond to the law, resist change it, and fulfill it, even as it ch lenges, changes and educates us.

Now there is at least one other vital gument which Gandhi and Martin Luth King would make. "Nonviolence in its d namic condition means conscious suffering said Gandhi. "Rivers of blood may ha to flow before we gain our freedom, but must be *our* blood," he said to his count men. And hundreds of thousands of I dians did withstand the blows of Briti clubs, about half a million courted ja and not a few gave their lives witho striking back.

The Logic of Sacrifice

What was Gandhi's justification for t ordeal to which he invited his countryme for this mass political application of t ancient doctrine of turning the oth cheek? There is little that a lawyer ne say to convince Christians of the educ tional potentialities of that kind of suff ing which the martyrs endured.

"Things of fundamental importance people are not secured by reason alone b have to be purchased with their suffering said Gandhi. "Suffering is infinitely mo powerful than the law of the jungle converting the opponent and opening ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voi of reason." "The appeal of reason is mo to the head," he said, "but the penetrati of the heart comes from suffering. It ope up the inner understanding in man."

Does it? In practice does nonviolent tion change the minds and hearts of pe ple? Is it practical in a democratic syste of law where there is a Constitution wi a Bill of Rights to which one can appe through regular legal channels?

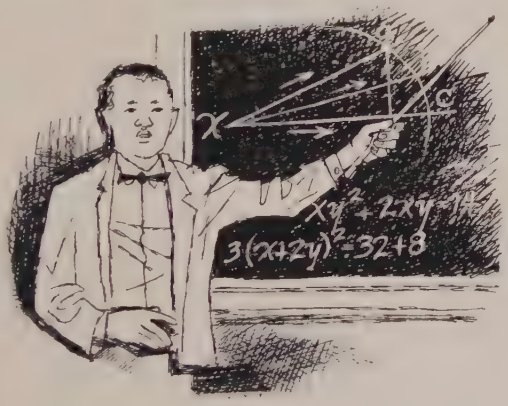
Is it advisable, when the spirit of v lent disobedience is afoot, to adopt a methods other than strict reliance on l and order?

These questions answer themselves. I the very use of violence by the opponer of integration invites a nonviolent sponse. At least it presents these alter tives: acquiescence to the intimidation, the use of violence in return, or nonviole

istance. Gandhi often said he would pre- violence to cowardice, but still more uld he prefer the courageous nonvio- ce of Rosa Parks or of Elizabeth Eck- d to the use of shotguns and switch- des. The old law of an eye-for-an-eye- an-eye leaves everyone blind.

Nor is violent, lawless intimidation the y kind of injustice facing the Negro— re are still many unconstitutional dis- minatory laws on the books and state l local governments can add new ones er than the Supreme Court can strike m down.

Nor does the existence of the Constitu- n at the top of our federal system mean t the majority in Congress or in a state slature or in a city council may not en- an unjust law that is, at least for some e, upheld by the Court. Let us not for- the Fugitive ve Law. Civil obedience to s or local ordi- ances which we ieve violate the l of Rights is quickest and st way of test- their constitu- hality. In this se, as Thoreau te, "They are lovers of law l order who erve the law n the government breaks it."



lso, in this age of great centralized ion-states and monster bureaucracies, we d some practical new Socratic technique egister popular dissent and to stir so- y from its dogmatic slumbers. Civil dis- dience is an antidote to the centraliza- n and standardization of our life, to the se of fatalism of the multitude as well to the tyranny of the majority. The lathans, our governments, if they give minimum of good government, need e no fear of being stung too often, for gadflies who will willingly go to jail make their point are normally not so nerous.

Thus civil disobedience is a new answer he question of how to divide our du- to Caesar and God. As the claims of Caesar have grown louder, our answer too often has been: we render unto Caesar that which Caesar says is Caesar's and go to church on Sunday. With nonviolence we can make real decisions—effective moral choices—in this apportionment between God and Caesar, between our conscience and the state. That is what happened in Montgomery when churches filled on days other than Sunday and people started walking with God on their work days.

The Rewards of Courage

Was the Montgomery bus boycott effective in registering the convictions of the Negroes and in stirring the white conscience from its complacency?

How can we measure the effect of the boycott—or of the courageous suffering of the children who have gone through jeering mobs and faced a line of guns in order to establish the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution? The heart has its reasons, and the doctors of the mind recognize the occasional need for shock treatment. I would guess that the boycott had the effect of an electric shock on both the white and Negro people of Montgomery, shaking and to some extent changing the racial thought patterns of that community. Montgomery whites could no longer be so sure they knew their Negroes, and the Negroes could begin to be sure that they were not the docile children that they had been pictured.

This is not to suggest that men are easily moved out of their mental ruts or that prejudice and irrationality can be cured by nonviolent words or a year's walking. Nehru once remarked that the British were never so angry as when the Indians resisted them with nonviolence, that he never saw eyes so full of hate as those of the British troops to whom he turned the other cheek when they beat him with

lathis. But nonviolent resistance at least changed the minds and hearts of the Indians, however impervious the British may have been. We cast away our fear, says Nehru. And in the end the British not only granted India freedom but came to have a new respect for Indians. Today a mutual friendship based on complete equality exists between these two peoples within the Commonwealth.

The Long Road Ahead

I do not predict the same happy ending for Montgomery, because integration is more complicated than independence. But I am sure that the Negro of Montgomery is already walking straighter because of the boycott. And I expect that this generation of Negro children will grow up stronger and better because of the courage, the dignity and the suffering of the nine children of Little Rock and their counterparts in Nashville and Clinton and Sturgis. And I like to believe that the white people of this country are being affected too, that beneath the surface this nation's conscience is being stirred.

I hope this is the case not just because the Gandhian theory seems right to me but because it is becoming clear that we are in for a season of suffering. The Constitution stands and it is color-blind, but the 14th Amendment will not become the living law of this land until it is understood as well as enforced. And we are a long way from that understanding. Angry passions and deep prejudices are being aroused, and even as victories for civil rights mount in the federal courts, the mountain of state and local laws and practices remains unmoved. Negro leaders continue to be arrested and persecuted under city ordinances, state laws continue to be enacted to circumvent integration, and powerful community pressures are organized to support the whole web of racial injustice. What I hope is that, recognizing the necessity of struggle and suffering, we will make of it a virtue. If only to save itself from bitterness, this generation of Negroes needs the vision to see its ordeal as the opportunity to transfigure itself and American society. If the jails must be filled, let them be entered, as Gandhi urged his countrymen, "as a bridegroom enters t bride's chamber." That is, with some tre dation but with great expectation.

It is a privilege that history gives o occasionally for men to become the struments of a great idea. Nonviolence not a negative concept. Its corollary m always be growth. Gandhi always insis that the other side of the coin of civil obedience against injustice was constr tive service to establish justice. And in Indian struggle there was a rhythm of ternation between dramatic boycotts jail-going campaigns and periods of stea hard construction of a better India.

Men Can Make Law Free

In South Africa, where Gandhi first perimented with his methods in an Ind community that was outnumbered ten one by the whites, he began by listing the grievances against the Indians by whites, and by asking his fellow Indians consider which of these grievances w justified and then to do something ab remedying them. To the Indian merch before him, known for slick dealings sharp bargaining, he proposed more sponsibility to the community. He thou all Indians could do something to impr the unsanitary conditions in the Ind sections of town. Why wait for legal tories against discrimination for the ne sary drain-cleaning? he asked. He or ized constructive institutions to teach impoverished Indians to read and wr to erase caste discriminations among Indians, to help end the demoralizatio much of the Indian community.

I gather that it was in this spirit that Montgomery Improvement Association formed on the occasion of the bus cott. As Martin Luther King said, "We seeking to improve not the Negro of M gomery but the whole of Montgomery. was not an association to improve service by ending segregation, but an a ciation to improve Montgomery. And could be said of every city in this cou that leaves a lot of improving to do.

This then is the rhythm beyond the nonviolent resistance to all forms of ra injustice, including state and local laws practices, even when this means a ter

and imaginative, bold, constructive
on to end the demoralization caused by
legacy of slavery and segregation, in-
or schools, slums, and second-class citi-
ship. The nonviolent struggle, if con-
ted with the dignity and courage al-
ly shown in Montgomery and Little
k, will itself help end the demoraliza-
, but a new frontal assault on the pov-
, disease and ignorance of people too
g behind God's back will make victory
he struggle more certain.

This is the way, it seems to me, for public sentiment to be moulded. Those who take the leadership in this great educational venture will be going, as Lincoln said, deeper than those who make and interpret the laws. "The law will never make men free," Thoreau said, "it is men who have got to make the law free." This is only half true, for the law can help. But through nonviolent action, men, by becoming free themselves, in turn help our law at last to be free.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

This copper coin
Stamped with the image of God,
Currency of the Realm,
Coin of the Kingdom,
May it circulate through our land,
May it pass from hand to hand
With its encompassing "Anno Domini."
Not all the gold in the world can buy
What Heaven's penny can buy:
Justice, truth and grace.
Time can never efface
The mold of the heavenly mint.
No years can erase,
From this metal of earth,
The print
Of God's face.

—Edith Lovejoy Pierce

Testing Nonviolence

BY RICHARD B. GREGG

WHEN PEOPLE GET TO talking about nonviolence they readily admit that in Gandhi's hands it did have power, indeed great power. Then they usually say, "But he was a saint, and I am not," or "I haven't such courage or selflessness or strength," or "That is asking too much of the average man."

In pondering on this, it may be pertinent to put together Prime Minister Disraeli's reported saying, that "anything you truly believe in is practical," with Gandhi's frequent statement that successful *Satyagraha* requires a firm belief in God. From his firm belief in God came his firm belief in *Satyagraha*.

How are firm beliefs acquired? One method is through prolonged experience. We all believe, for instance, in the force of gravitation. We all began experiencing it as soon as we were born. When each baby lies on its back and waves its arms and legs around, it is experiencing and experimenting with the force of gravitation. Later, when it tries to walk and finally succeeds, it is experimenting with and learning about that force. When it plays with stones or blocks and learns to put one object on top of another, it learns more about the power and constancy of gravity. As a result of all this, every one of us profoundly believes in the force of gravity and always tries to act consistently with it in every movement of his body.

Controlled Experiment

There is another way to get firm belief—by a deliberate, planned series of experiences. This is the scientific method of experimentation with careful control of co ditions and recording of results. The a plication of scientific method always begi with a hypothesis, a conscious guess question, followed by experiments to t its truth or validity. Sometimes the hyp thesis is a hunch or intuitive glimpse of possibility. Sometimes it is a rationally co ceived possible correlation. When the s entific method is carefully carried out a tested by many observers, it usually en with an equally firm belief. An instance the present-day belief in the reality a usefulness of radio waves.

Gandhi As Scientist

Most scientists restrict their experimen to the material world of space and tim Gandhi extended the use of the scienti method to the realm of intangible, sub human relationships, the realm of mor and what is called spirit.

He had a hypothesis, an assumption, intuition, that the spirit, or if you pre the name, God, exists, is present alwa and everywhere in all human hearts as w as transcending the whole world, and th it is supremely powerful. He proceeded t test this hypothesis every day and ye after year. He stated his belief that tru and God are synonymous. He entitled autobiography, *My Experiments wi Truth*. He might have called it "My periments with the Divine Spirit." The sult of his incessant experiments was unshakable belief and trust in God, a in the power of God acting in all men, a hence in the power of nonviolence.

One essential feature of the scient

hod is that the experiments must be ible of repetition by any other scientist is willing to follow the same condi-s, and the results must be substantially same. It would seem that Vinoba Bhave xperimenting with the spirit in the rts of men and getting similar results. t mothers do this with their children.

The Power of Love

andhi's application of scientific method in the realm of living forces. One of features of living forces, what might al-t be called a law, is that all life re-nds to suitable stimuli, and that the l of response called growth depends on y, many, many repetitions of stimuli are tiny, what in the moral realm we ld call gentle. Gandhi recognized and tised this law. For over fifty years all teaching and action consisted of many, y repetitions of gentle, loving stimuli he spirit in the hearts of all men, in-ing his opponents. He thus caused the of the spirit in the hearts of almost yone to sprout and grow and finally in y cases to govern their actions.

is true that there were some apparent ires. That happens in laboratory ex-ments, too. But the successes were so y and so striking that all those who sensitive to the development of fine an relations have been deeply im-sed.

f course there are many skeptics who scornful of or simply not interested in ypothesis that there is an intangible, g power that can be thus invoked and by men. Their skepticism is not sup-ed, however, by the feature of in-ibility, for radio waves have that qual-and nobody denies the power of radio es. There are certain real, enduring powerful forces in men that are im-surable and living. The belief of the that they were chosen by God has ined them through centuries of op-sion. Other examples are the English-'s sense of superiority, and the idea of y scientists that man is master of na-

nature is the realm of space and time, the word "supernatural" can no er be used incredulously or as out-moded and a sign of superstition, because such scientists as Einstein, Heisenberg, Jeans, Weyl, Bridgman, de Broglie and Dingle have stated categorically that the laws of space and time do not apply to the nuclear forces of the atom. Something as real as the hydrogen bomb transcends space and time. There are forces now recognized by science which are, if you please, supernatural.

Hence it no longer seems unreasonable, fantastic, superstitious or unscientific to believe that there may be an intangible, transnatural, living power in the hearts of all men. Be skeptical if you wish, but don't be bigoted in your skepticism. After all, nowadays scientific laws are regarded by scientists as only statements of strong probability. It is unscientific to say dogmatically that something simply cannot be.

The Test of Good Will

The present extreme dangers for all mankind are due primarily to defective human relations enlarged into international scope—to such attitudes as fear, suspicion, anger, pride, selfishness, greed and lust for power. It has become imperative to experiment with finer forces and influences in this realm—such forces as a frank admission by each person and each nation that we are all human and have made mistakes, such attitudes as forgiveness, willingness to take risks for a fine end, trust, and even that power called love.

Let us be profoundly scientific and expand the area for experiment! I am not urging you to believe in God or nonviolence, or to love everybody or indeed anybody. I am only suggesting that you do some serious experimenting in a largely untried realm, to do research that may prove highly profitable for you, for your descendents, for your nation and the world. Maybe you can thus acquire a firm belief in a new force.

Why do you not today, just out of scientific curiosity, begin some little private experiments with, for example, such a principle as, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Try it at least fifty times, and keep a record of the results. If they are generally favorable, go on from there.

Strength for Peace

BY VINOBA BHAVE

WHAT CAN India and England do for world peace? Some country has to take a courageous step for world peace and that step is to free itself from the bondage of armaments—a step which is not contrary to reason. Such a country will not have to concern itself with what other nations are doing, it will have to take a unilateral action on its own strength. I think that there are two nations which can take this action if they have the courage. It is within the realm of possibility, of course, if God wills, that any other nation may take such an action but I have faith that either India or England can do this. I have hope that India will release itself from armed forces, because India's culture supports such an action. My hope in England lies in my belief in its inner strength.

Some people say that England is a second-rate power. My idea is different. There is no nation stronger than England—wealth and arms alone do not give strength. When England took the step of releasing its hold on India, its moral strength grew. I saw England's strength, too, in the Suez affair. There was one party in power and it attacked Egypt, but the people made a loud protest against this action of its government. This protest action I consider very important; the actual action of the government in Egypt I don't consider of great importance. I knew such a government wouldn't stay long. England's action in India was a sign of strength and in the history that is still to be written it will be judged a glorious action of which England can be as proud as India. As a result of the nonviolent movement the relationships between the people of England and India have deepened. England knows what war is, what it requires in natio effort, and therefore I believe that E land has the strength to liberate it from armed forces.

The Strength of India

What is the basis of my hope in Ind Although India looks like one country is really a continent like Europe—t there is one Government is an amaz fact. China is also old and large, but Ch has not so many divisions. Only Eur can be compared to India, having so m linguistic groups, yet in Europe where there is a separate language there is a s arate country. In Europe there is close finity between the languages and there one alphabet. Tamil, Hindi and K nada have different scripts, yet in spite this they are part of one country. On count of this unity in diversity we can that there is nonviolence in India's blo Europe, of course, is more advanced pol cally, but India's strength is such that could disarm. When India had gr strength it never attacked any other co try—the strongest of India's kings ne thought of attacking its neighbour country. Another important thing is t the teaching of the Buddha went from dia to China, Japan and elsewhere, never was religious influence preceded trade or sword. There is no other exam of this in history. This shows India's t nature.

Then again, how did India fight its of independence? Gandhi, who led nonviolent struggle, always said that are friends of the British. The British k Nehru in jail for 17½ years, but he has bad feelings towards them, and this is

ted to Nehru—hundreds have that
ng towards England. Some Indian peo-
are even proposing that the English
uage should be kept in India, even
gh the national language, Hindi, has
decided upon. This is a sign of the
t of nonviolence. Therefore we can
or the hope that India would uni-
ally disarm.

ut why is this not happening? Our non-
ent strength has not come to the sur-
. It is there, but few have faith in it—
ple call it a weakness to be nonviolent.
is this? This weakness can be blamed
England—but it is also ours. England
ed India to disarm—all arms were
n away, and as a result great impor-
e came to be given to arms by the
ple. If this had not happened, India
ld now have greater strength because
attraction of arms would not be there.
re was a benefit from England's action,
ever. Mahatma Gandhi had the oppor-
ty to experiment with nonviolence, in
absence of weapons. The people saw
the fight with weapons was impossible
developed faith in the nonviolent
ggle. Mahatma Gandhi, however, said
he wanted the nonviolence of the
ng, not of the weak—but the non-
ence of the weak was practiced, and as
nsequence we had the big post-inde-
dence Hindu-Moslem strife.

ow India is free. It can choose its own
after due consideration of the condi-
s in India and in the world. I have
ral times advised the government to
rm. But who is the government? If it
e Nehru, it would be easy. But it is a
iament, and with one voice they de-
d arms and more arms in India. The
e with America. Are they short of arms?
Eisenhower wants more and more arms
account of Russia. We must acknowl-
e that India hasn't the strength to dis-
, though all would agree that the arms
useless in the face of atomic weapons.
at we have to do is to prepare a climate
India, and for this we have to show
armed forces are not required for in-
al peace. Even though there are prob-
s and divisions in plenty, we have to
that there is no violence.

Ve have *Gramdan* (land gift) and *Shanti*
(Peace Army) for this. In *Gramdan* we cut at the root of all the problems and divisions. We want to see that all things can be done on the basis of love and good will. There are only 3500 *gramdans*, but already I have started *Shanti Sena*. Why should a new movement be started before the completion of the other? The answer is that *Gramdan* cannot flourish without *Shanti Sena*. In Tamilnad there was a struggle, and the police restored peace by the use of arms. In this way police are necessary. We cannot, until we remove this necessity, tell the Government to do without them.

Strength Through Disarmament

Some people think that our hope is baseless, it is impossible. My answer is that we get joy in trying to do the impossible. The action we want is necessary for India and for the world, and even if there is only a hope of small success we have the right to tell the government to reduce its arms. My conviction is that the Pakistan problem would soon be solved. Pakistan feels that it must speak to India from a position of strength—the same applies to India in order to speak to Pakistan. I say that in order to speak to Pakistan with strength we should reduce our armed forces. Disarmament brings new strength—*Shanti Sena* would bring an inner strength.

Democracy must be improved so that real authority remains in the hands of the people, and as I look at the question, I find that the *Gramdan* movement gives a new perspective. There power is decentralized. When *Gramdan* succeeds power will not be in the hands of a few. Villages will stand on their own feet, they will make their own plans, arrange for their own protection, education, etc. *Shanti Sena* will have the backing of the people and will come out of the people. The authority of this "peace force" will come from its service to the people, there will be no need to do anything in its name. In fact when the *Shanti Sena* has completed its work and replaced the armed forces it will automatically cease to exist—the people will live in peace, in every home there will be a *Shanti Sena*.

I am conscious that we are weak for such a huge task, but God often uses the weak to confound the strong!

Moscow's MAN OF THE YEAR

When Time *Magazine chose Nikita S. Khr chev as its Man of the Year, it fired a shot was heard halfway round the world. In Ind seemed intriguing to speculate how it m look if the shoe were on the other foot. W American would Moscow's weekly newsm zine,* New Times, *have chosen as* its *Man of Year? The following parody in this vein peared in the January 12 issue of the In journal,* Shankar's Weekly. *We present it as an example of the impact of United St foreign policy on those abroad who are aligned with either Russia or the United St in the world power struggle.*

—The Edi

Concerning the year that has passed, it can be said firstly, that it has lessened the influence of the imperialists in world affairs; secondly, that it has correspondingly added to the strength of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist camp; and, thirdly, that both these are due to the single-minded devotion of J. F. Dulles, the heroic Secretary of State of the great United States of America. J. F. Dulles is unquestionably the Man of the Year.

The crowning achievement of the apple of our eye, J. F. Dulles, was the announcement that the U.S.'s first grapefruit satellite, the heroic Vanguard, had democratically burned itself out before it took off. As a result of this unique experiment, J. F. Dulles boosted Soviet strength as no one had done before.

Tall (5 ft. 11 inches), bespectacled (—3; —4), burly (chest 52″, biceps 27″), blooming, ruddy (blood pressure 160) Dulles has been the socialist camp's best friend in recent times. With unerring instinct he has chosen colorful phrases ("Massive Retaliation," "Agonizing Reappraisal," "On the Brink," "War Against Atheism") to depress the West's morale and deprive them of ideological strength. In the field of politics, J. F. Dulles has done a remarkable job of work by making capitalist nations jittery and fear-ridden.

Moreover, the order to American airc to fly over Britain and other areas w loaded H-bombs has brought a mighty action in our favor. It is in this context t Prime Minister Macmillan has, in spite rude anti-Soviet attacks, suggested that West hold talks with us for achievin nonaggression pact. For this turn of eve in our favor we have to thank the gr J. F. Dulles.

We cannot make any prognosis whether J. F. Dulles will receive a Le Peace Prize but we are sure that the gr Soviet people and the heroic Presidium the Central Committee of the Commu Party will make a democratic award to J Dulles for his devoted, unselfish work undermine the West and publicize us.

It is no wonder that J. F. Dulles i man who at considerable risk is doing mighty duty. Born of humble stock, J Dulles went to work in his early years

(Continued on Page 33)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship,** published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

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Fellowship

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

GOVERNMENT SPARS AS PEACE SENTIMENT SPREADS

As the United States and the Soviet Union carried on a diplomatic and propanda sparring match, each seeking to gain an advantage over the other by exiting world peace sentiment without surrendering anything important, the ntiment itself showed signs of getting out of bounds. Particularly in the United ates, where the State Department's slow and unimaginative handling of the issue cessation of tests has brought it under great fire, public opposition to the sts appeared to be mounting rapidly.

The various "walks for peace" that olved hundreds of Americans in the st and midwest, and on the Pacific ast during the week preceding Easter, eived an almost uniformly respectful, l sometimes very favorable, press did their counterparts in other ntries). Another "walk," which may n out to be more a motorcade, seems ely to converge on Washington from far away as California later this nth, with services and demonstrations the capital during Memorial Day ekend.

Meanwhile, 17 noted persons from s country, Japan, Great Britain, nada and South Africa, sued in Fedl District Court in Washington for an unction to block further American ts of nuclear weapons. The group nounced their intention to file a simisuit in London, and have sent a formal nplaint to the procurator-general in scow. They will try to arrange to have rneys go to Russia to press legal ion there. The plaintiffs include FOR nbers Canon L. John Collins, of gland, and the Rev. G. Michael Scott, South Africa, as well as such widely wn personages as Toyohiko Kagawa, Norman Thomas, Bertrand Russell, and Linus Pauling. Two Japanese who ordinarily fish in the Pacific area where tests are carried out are also among the plaintiffs.

The Atomic Energy Commission announced a "regulation" prohibiting American citizens from entering the test

(Continued on next page)

"Now is the Time"

Nine bishops and the leaders of several theological seminaries were among 140 Protestant clergymen and educators who last month called on the government to suspend testing of nuclear weapons. The statement, which had been initiated by the FOR's secretary-emeritus A. J. Muste, was released on Monday, April 21. Among the prominent nonpacifist signers were President John A. Mackay, of Princeton Theological Seminary, and Dean John C. Bennett, of Union.

Referring to the statement of the World Council of Churches meeting last August, which called on the nuclear powers to end the tests, the new statement declared that "now is the time for Christians to take action in line with the above proposals."

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Govt. Spars *(cont'd)*

area--previously it had only "warned" them away--and threatened the four pacifists on the *Golden Rule* with arrest if they persisted. The *New York Post*, commenting on the 30-foot ketch sailing to a "naval engagement" with the AEC, observed that the sympathies of most of the world went with the pacifists.

Teen-Agers Protest H-Bomb

Two hundred teen-agers were the signers of petitions calling for the end of testing and use of nuclear weapons. The petitions, sent to the White House early in March, were initiated by 14-year old FOR member Dennis Weeks, of DeKalb, Illinois.

Tax Law Protests Heard

A challenge to a state law requiring churches to sign a loyalty oath in order to gain real estate exemption was heard by the U. S. Supreme Court on April 9. The case is an appeal from a decision by the California Supreme Court upholding, by a 4-3 vote, the controversial legislation.

The four appealing churches, which refused to sign the oath and consequently lost their exemption, include the First Methodist Church of San Leandro, whose minister is FOR vice-chairman Robert Moon.

No More Shredded Wheat

FOR member Franklin Zahn, of Pomona, California, has notified the National Biscuit Company, located 425 Park Avenue, New York, that he h stopped eating and buying "one of favorite cereals, Shredded Wheat," as protest against propagandizing childr for war. The propaganda that rous Zahn's ire is a color postcard of t "Honest John" artillery rocket. It identified as a U. S. Army photograp and as No. 18 in the Nabisco Shredd Wheat "Defenders of America" series

Pacifists Take Protest to Soviet

Five pacifists left the United Stat last month to carry an appeal to t Soviet Union to end nuclear testin The group, sponsored by the No Violent Action Committee, left London on April 14, and hoped to ca its message to the Russian people Moscow. The group included Mrs. Rob Stone, of Huntington, L. I.; Lawren Scott, of Fallsington, Pa., and Marv Gerwirtz, Morton Ryweck and Bays Rustin, all of New York City.

FOR Needs A-V Equipment

Some equipment is still needed the FOR's new sound-recording a photographic center at the Nyack hea quarters before the Audio-Visual wo shop begins in July. Members knowi where any of the items listed may acquired (free) are asked to communica with FOR-AV, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

Darkroom: 35 mm. enlarger; 4 x 5 e larger; 8 x 10 contact printer; 16 m motion-picture camera and tripod.

For soundroom: 4 microphones good quality; a turn-table with tone ar VU meter; and other equipment.

General: Stage lights of various so (bar, flood, spots, etc.).

Delaware Outlaws Capital Punishmen

Delaware last month became t seventh state in which capital punis ment is outlawed, when Governor Caleb Boggs signed a bill to that effe The other states are Maine, Michiga Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Isla and Wisconsin.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETS--REVIEWS WORK OF PAST YEAR--SETS PROGRAM, STAFF, BUDGET FOR NEW YEAR

)ne of the most representative meet- of the FOR National Council in rs brought delegates and staff from ive states to the Nyack FOR head- rters for meetings April 11 and 12. Council sessions were preceded by days of intensive staff meetings. he Council spent all of Friday morn- and part of the afternoon reviewing work of the staff during the past and studying staff proposals for new season. Approved for program hasis were:

ontinued work on *opposition to the race, nuclear tests, and related ers.* Approval was given to assign- of Youth Secretary Curtiss Moody he staff of a scheduled "Walk to nington" in May, and of two staff bers to prepare and direct a "vigil anaveral" from June 21 to July 6.

Work in the South

o relaxation of *effort in the South,* re the Fellowship's reconciliation n has done significant work in de- oping an understanding of the use onviolence in the struggle for racial herhood. Staff was authorized to em- the Rev. James Lawson on a part- basis if budget permits. Lawson, has been part of the team, will work of Nashville.

oncentration on a *membership-wide ning program,* through retreats, con- nces and training sessions at Nyack in other sections of the country. f. Earle Warner, retiring head of the sics Department at the University rizona, has volunteered to work for FOR six months of the year devel- ng this program.

xtension of the *audio-visual work* he Fellowship through an A-V work- p in July, and the employment, if cial funds become available, of a -time staff member in this field.

change in the administrative setup he national FOR, recommended by the Personnel Committee, was approved without dissent. Under it John Swomley, currently on a year's leave of absence, and Alfred Hassler, were named co-secretaries.

Swomley will concentrate on research, contacts with churches and other groups, speaking, and other aspects of the work that require more emphasis than the staff has been able to give in the past few years.

Hassler, who has been functioning as acting executive secretary during Swomley's absence, will take charge of general administration and publications.

Glenn Smiley, who will continue as national field secretary, will supervise work of the regional secretaries, program activities for regional and local groups, and coordination of the developing retreat and conference program.

All members of the staff were re-elected, with the Council "commending them for the excellent job that they have been doing."

Vote $175,000 Budget

A gross budget of $175,491 was approved on the recommendation of the Finance and Budget Committee. While its total was within $4,000 of the current budget, the "net" figure, representing the amount needed to be raised by contributions, was lowered almost $16,000 from the 1958 figure of $128,000. (The difference represents large increased sales of FOR Christmas cards and other literature.)

Single, rather than multiple, national conferences were decided upon by the Council for the next two years, with instructions to staff to begin arrangements immediately. Plans are for the 1959 meeting to be held at a camp in the Midwest, with the 1960 conference scheduled for the Pacific Coast. Both will be week-long affairs and will include several days of a "family camp." The two conferences will mark the start and end of a year-long observance of the American FOR's 45th anniversary.

Curtiss Moody, whose work as Youth Secretary won high commendation, will enter seminary in the fall, but will continue on the staff on a part-time arrangement similar to that on which James Lawson will work in the South. Both men will work intensively in colleges and seminaries, where the pacifist message is being heard more eagerly than for many years.

Council members were conducted on a tour of Shadow cliff, the new FOR headquarters, during the meetings. A newly installed recording studio and darkroom were displayed, and a sheet was distributed listing the 22 conferences and retreats so far held, which have brought almost 700 visitors to Nyack.

Worship services were conducted Friday morning and evening, and Saturday afternoon, by James Lawson, the Rev. Harold O. Massie, of Arnold, Nebraska, and vice-chairman Robert Moon, minister of the First Methodist Church of San Leandro, California.

A few minutes after the end of the Friday evening session, Council members listened in on a radio-telephone call to the ketch *Golden Rule*, then some 900 miles east of Hawaii on the way to the nuclear-testing site in the far Pacific. Council member Lawrence Scott, who is coordinator for the sponsoring Nonviolent Action committee, placed the call and read to the crew of the ketch a brief message from the Council. One of the crew, George Willoughby, is also a Council member.

See Release of CO Earnings

Legislation to release $1,407,996 "frozen" earnings of World War II conscientious objectors is currently before the House of Representatives and believed to have a good chance of passing. The bill, H. R. 9882, would make the money available for distribution by the National Service Board for Religious Objectors to programs of relief and rehabilitation.

DATES TO REMEMBER

May 8, 1958. New York FOR dinner, Christ Church, 520 Park Avenue. Speaker: Prof. Culbert G. Rutenber.

May 30, June 1, 2. Services and demonstrations climaxing "Walk to Washington." Write Curtiss Moody, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

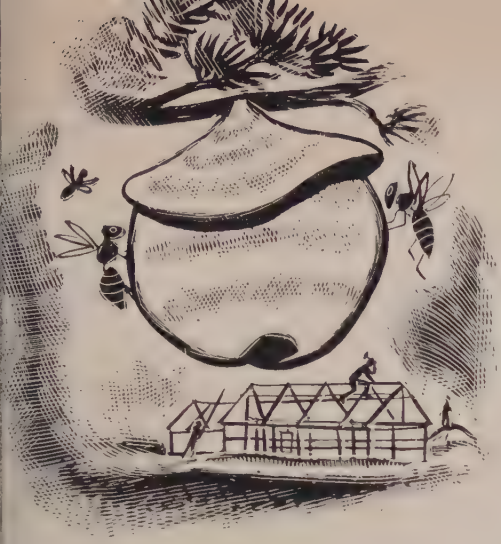
June 14--July 6. "Vigil at Canaveral" sponsored by FOR at Cape Canaveral, Florida. Write FOR, Nyack.

August 15--22, 1959. FOR National conference and family camp marking 40th anniversary of FOR founding. At American Baptist conference center, Green Lake, Wisconsin. *Put it on your calendar now.*

"A Hair Shirt on the Conscience"

Inez Robb, a syndicated newspaper columnist not ordinarily noted for her nonconformist views, ruminated in print recently on the role of zealots. In retrospect, she observed, "they often turn out to be not only admirable characters, but awfully permanent on the historic landscape." Reason for the reflections, it turned out, was Miss Robb's indignation over some ridicule heaped on the peace marchers.

"I do not regard these peace marchers as figures of fun," she wrote. "Peace is honorable; they believe in it and they are willing to work for it. It boils down, I guess, to the fact that the zealots are just too hard for ordinary mortals to live with. Too often, they are a hair shirt on the conscience of the community."



Man AND THE Social Appetite

BY M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU

ORE THAN HALF a century ago, in 1894, the distinguished experimental embryogist Wilhelm Roux shook apart the cells a frog's egg during an early stage of its elopment, placed the separated cells e distance apart in water, and watched see what would happen. The separated s slowly approached each other until y established contact.

When an experimenter removes individ- amoebae some distance from a group of ir fellows, the separated amoebae imdiately begin to make their way back to group.

These are but two of innumerable exples which could be cited to illustrate existence of a social appetite through- the kingdom of living forms. Whether are dealing with fungi, bacteria, or highplants and animals, the drive to form al aggregates is the same everywhere. eed, so far as man is concerned, the se of mutuality and the trait of cooperaness represent far stronger sides of his l makeup than combativeness and comitiveness. This is important to keep in d at a time when all the surface evice seems to be to the contrary. The d of the moment may be "fission"—ther with respect to physics or human irs—but "fusion" comes much closer to ecting man's natural behavior patterns. he source of this social appetite may raced to the way in which a living orism originates. All cells originate from er cells; it is impossible for them to inate in any other way. Whether reduction or budding-off, or cleavage—that is to say asexually—or whether it is secured sexually by the conjugation of cells, the process is always an interacting one between parent and developing new organism. The parent supplies the vital tissues to the new organism, and in the process of reproduction there are metabolic and other physiological exchanges between them before parent and offspring become independent of each other. This type of relationship, in varying degrees, is characteristic of all plant and animal life.

The evidence indicates that the fundamentally social nature of all living things has its origin in this physiological relationship between parent and offspring; in the fact that the two are for a time bound together in an interactive association; in the fact that the life of either one or the other is at some time dependent upon the potential or actual being of the other. For example, when the amoeba has reached a certain size it can avoid death only by dividing, and this it does. The new organism is, at least during the period of division, entirely dependent upon the proper functioning of its parent. In this dependency we may perceive the origins of infant dependency in the higher animals and the very obvious social and, particularly in man, cultural consequences of that dependent relationship. In short, the universal fact of reproduction and all that that implies is the foundation of the social relationship which characterizes all living organisms.

This is as true of multicellular organisms as it is of those which have only single cells. Cells which were originally separate

develop the habit of remaining attached after division to form a multicellular organism, as spores often do in the encysted envelope of the parent amoeba. As a result of their increasing ability to cooperate, such interactive cells develop specialized functions as well as increasingly complex relations. For this reason, a multicellular organism must be regarded as the expression of increasing intercellular cooperation, in which the interdependent cooperating activities of its cellular masses function together, so that at all times the organism is able to function as a whole. Whatever the nature of the factors involved in the cooperation of cells in many-celled organisms, such cooperation exhibits the elements of a social act. And such acts represent the expression of a drive which had its origin in the relationship of parent cell and daughter cell.

The tendency of living things to form societies is coeval with life itself. No living organism is either solitary in its origin or solitary in its existence. Every organism from the lowest to the highest is normally engaged in some sort of social life. The solitary animal is in any species an abnormal creature. The fact that such diverse groups as insects and mammals have developed highly co-operative forms of social life indicates the existence in organic life of deep-seated potentialities toward cooperation and society.

Mutiality and Struggle

The unconscious kind of cooperation which universally exists among lower animals is even more developed among the more advanced forms. It is important to understand in its full implications the fact that this principle of cooperation appears to have governed the relations of organisms from the first. The notion that animals are in a constant state of warfare with one another, that "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest" are the two cardinal principles of "natural selection," is grossly one-sided and misleading. Although activities which may collectively be described as "the struggle for existence" characterize the behavior of most anima such activities are only part of their havior. Indeed, cooperation and comp tion complement rather than oppose another.

In what might be called the "tough D winian period" of the last century the cept of natural selection in its crudest f completely dominated the thought of bi ogists and sociologists, with the consequen that although some biologists, and tainly Darwin himself, recognized the ex ence of cooperative behavior on a la scale, it was almost completely neglected favor of natural selection. Darwin's development of the role played by coope tion in evolution, as set forth in *Descent of Man* (1871) was thorough slighted.

The extreme viewpo of the natural selection was stated by Thomas Huxley in his "strug for-life" manifesto, "T Struggle for Existence Its Bearing Upon Ma published in the *teenth Century* for Feb ary 1888. This evoked reply from Prince P Kropotkin in the form eight articles published tween 1890 and 1896 the pages of the *teenth Century*. These articles were p lished in book form in 1902 as *Mut Aid: a Factor in Evolution*, a work wh drew attention to the already consider literature on the subject, and which phasized an important and much un rated factor in evolution.

In the half century since Darwin, m work has been done in this field, so t today the principle of cooperation is i fair way to becoming established as most important factor in the survival animal groups. Summing up the mod point of view, Warder C. Allee, writin *Science* in 1943, says:

> "After much consideration, it is my ture conclusion, contrary to Herbert Spe that the cooperative forces are biologi the more important and vital. The bal between the cooperative, altruistic ten cies and those which are disoperative

bistic is relatively close. Under many con-
ions, the cooperative forces lose. In the
ng run, however, the group-centered, more
ruistic drives are slightly stronger.
f cooperation had not been the stronger
rce, the more complicated animals, wheth-
arthropods or vertebrates, could not have
olved from simpler ones, and there would
ve been no men to worry each other
th their distressing and biologically fool-
wars. While I know of no laboratory
periments that make a direct test of this
oblem, I have come to this conclusion by
udying the implications of many experi-
nts which bear on both sides of the prob-
n and from considering the trends of or-
nic evolution in nature. Despite many
own appearances to the contrary, human
truistic drives are as firmly based on an
imal ancestry as is man himself. Our ten-
ncies towards goodness, such as they are,
e as innate as our tendencies toward in-
ligence; we could do well with more of
th."

he habit of think-
in terms of the
ggle for existence,
neans of which, it
elieved, the fittest
alone selected for
vival while the
kest are ruthlessly
demned to extinc-
, is not only an
rrect view of the
s, but is a mode of
ught which has
e a considerable
unt of harm. As
e remarks:

"oday, as in Darwin's time, the average
ologist apparently still thinks of a natural
ection which acts primarily on egoistic
inciples, and intelligent fellow thinkers in
her disciplines, together with the much-
ed man-in-the-street, cannot be blamed
r taking the same point of view."

ertainly in every society there is ruth-
aggressiveness, but there is also healthy
ruthless competition. Moreover, there
very strong drives toward cooperative
avior. These forces operate not inde-
dently but together, and the evidence
ngly indicates that of them all the drive
cooperation is the most dominant, and
ogically the most important. The co-
ence of so many different species of
nals throughout the world is eloquent
mony to the importance of that prin-
. It is probable that man owes more
ne operation of this principle than to
any other in his own biological and social evolution. Indeed, without this principle the improvement of the organism, and the strengthening of the species, becomes utterly incomprehensible.

The Way to Survival

On the basis of the facts we may conclude that the more cooperatively the members of any group behave, the more harmonious the social organization of that group is likely to be. In 1944 a group of distinguished biologists summed up the principle of cooperation in the statement that the probability of survival of living things increases with the degree in which they harmoniously adjust themselves to each other and to their environment. Today, contrary to the "nature red in tooth and claw" school of natural selectionists, the evidence increasingly indicates that natural selection favors the cooperative as opposed to the disoperative struggling for survival. As Burkholder has recently stated, "The most important basis for selection is the ability of associated components to work together harmoniously in the organism and among organisms. All new genetic factors, whether they arise from within by mutation or are incorporated from without by various means, are accepted or rejected according to their cooperation with associated components in the whole aggregation."

Evolution itself is a process which favors cooperating rather than disoperating groups. Natural selection is not to be regarded as a kind of Prussian officer who causes the strong to survive and condemns the weakest to death, but rather as a judge with a strong bias in favor of cooperation. Thus we can remove the brutal associations from the concept of natural selection and harmonize it with the principle of cooperation.

Cooperation is the law of life for the group as for the individual. We know that if a child does not receive adequate co-

operation—that is to say, an adequate amount of love—from those who raise him, he will not develop into an adequate social being. More than this, we now know that each organism is born with an innate need to be cooperative, to give and receive love, to be good. If the infant's needs are adequately satisfied, he cannot help but be good, that is, loving. The biological basis of love, of goodness, consists in the organism's drive to secure cooperation in the satisfaction of its basic needs. It is the satisfaction which the cooperators give it which causes the organism to feel secure. It will readily be understood, therefore, that love is cooperation and security.

The ethical conception of love, which almost all peoples have arrived at independently, is no mere artificial creation of man. It is firmly grounded in the biological structure of man as a functioning organism. The realization of this fact is a discovery of the greatest possible significance for the future of mankind.

To summarize, then, we perceive that the biological basis of cooperation has its origins in the same sources as social behavior, namely, in the process of reproduction; that social, cooperative behavior is but the continuation and development of the maternal-offspring relationship. Cooperative social behavior is therefore as old as life itself, and the direction of evolution has, in man, been increasingly directed ward the fuller development of cooperati behavior. Cooperative behavior clearly h great survival value. When social behavi is not cooperative it is diseased behavi The principle which controls all biolo cally healthy behavior is love. Love, soc behavior, cooperation, and security me very much the same thing. Without lo there can be no healthy social behavi cooperation, or security. To love thy nei bor as thyself is not simply good text ma rial for Sunday morning sermons, but perfectly sound biology.

Men who do not love one another a sick—sick not from any disease arisi within themselves, but from a disease whi has been enculturated within them by t false values of their societies. Belief false values, in the value of money inste of the value of man, represents man tu ing upon all that is innately good in hi

Science points the way to survival a happiness for all mankind through lo and cooperation. Do what we will, o drives toward goodness are as biologica determined as are our drives toward brea ing. Our highly endowed potentialities social life have been used to pervert a deny their very nature, and this has led close to the brink of disaster. We cann continue to deny these potentialities wi out destroying ourselves.

YES?

These little stabs in the night
That men make in vain efforts
To protect they know not what

Locked into their bodies
By nature and into their minds
By fear they make the double sign
Of helplessness—and name the act
Useful, good, and purposeful

And all the meanwhile
The bell of warning keeps sounding
The waters flood the compartments
The autumn of no harvest draws in
The time of the drinking of dust
Is hastening upon us

—Carl Seaburg

Dr. Teller Refutes His Own Case

BY E. R. STABLER

"The Compelling Need for Nuclear ests" (*Life*, Feb. 10, 1958) Dr. Edward er and his co-author Dr. Albert Latter e for continued testing of nuclear ons by this country on two funda- tal grounds: (1) the dangers of radio- e fallout for the health of individual ons, and possible genetic damage to the from continued testing are, and can xpected to be, almost negligible; (2) inued testing is essential for the devel- ent of tactical weapons and clean bs for use in a possible future war.

o support the first part of Point 1 the ors* cite various common sources of ation to which all or many people are osed, such as cosmic rays, X-rays, drink- water, luminous wristwatch dials, all of h supposedly contributed more radia- units than fallout from nuclear testing. s a bar graph is presented showing iation danger" to the average person different sources—with X-rays indi- d as most dangerous, and worldwide ut as the least dangerous. Also com- sons are made in terms of life expec- y with other factors often considered nful to human health; and the appar- y negligible effect of radiation from ic rays is discussed.

he evidence of the 1954 Bikini test is oduced to show that even persons in the ity of a test, accidentally exposed to e dosage, were able to survive without rvable permanent ill effects (with the ption of one Japanese fisherman who , presumably as a result of the fallout).

o support the second part of Point 1, Teller asserts that, while radiation es mutations of the genes, "we can be quite certain that radiation from atomic tests will increase the chance of mutations by only a very small amount." He gives an estimate of a small percent increase.

Dr. Teller's second main point is made after he first discounts the value of discontinued testing to help achieve disarmament and prevent a possible future nuclear war. Thus he argues that unilateral disarmament would be unthinkable, mentioning that World War II may have been brought on by a "disarmament race," in the sense of failure to keep up with Hitler. Discontinued testing by agreement with the Soviet Union would put us at a disadvantage, because we would keep the agreement while the Russians could be expected to devise secret testing methods to circumvent the ban.

The Need for "Clean" Bombs

His main argument for the second point is that we need to provide against possible aggression from Communist countries and must have the best and most flexible weapons for the purpose of defense. This means, he says, that we need to develop small tactical bombs for use against armed forces or planes of an enemy, and "clean" bombs to avoid unnecessary radiation damage to noncombatants, our own people included. Thus testing must go on in order to perfect weapons having the desired characteristics. This country hopes to be able to avoid war, but it must always be prepared for war as a result of the Communist drive for world domination.

As a postscript, Dr. Teller argues that nuclear tests are to some extent in the nature of "experiments which will give us more insight into the forces of nature."

reafter reference will usually be made to Dr. r alone, as the senior author.

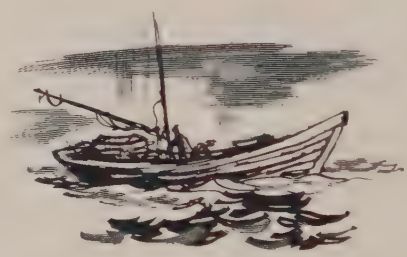
Hence they should be continued in the "spirit of adventure" in line with "the tradition of exploring the unknown."

Basic Fallacies

The above summary suggests that Dr. Teller has made a watertight case for continued testing. Closer examination of the article, however, indicates that this is far from being so.

Let us consider first some of the admissions or assumptions made by Dr. Teller which do *prima facie* damage to his claim under Point 1 that fallout radiation from testing can be discounted as negligible. He admits the following in the course of the discussion:

(a) Fallout radiation in high doses is dangerous to the individual. In particular, fallout radiation contains two dangerous radioactive isotopes, Strontium-90 and Cesium-137. The former in high doses could cause bone cancer and leukemia. The latter affects reproductive organs.



(b) Fallout is not uniform in all areas of the world. The northern part of the United States is a region of maximum fallout. Strontium-90 affects bones of children more than of adults, and is absorbed through milk and through plants used as food.

(c) Fallout radiation causes mutations of the genes, and the great majority of mutations are harmful. "Many are lethal."

(d) In the Bikini testing of 1954 "we had our most harrowing experience with radioactive fallout." The fallout accidentally caused observable injuries and one possible death among 23 Japanese fishermen and among 64 residents of Rongelap (in the Marshall Islands).

Dr. Teller attempts to counteract the effect of these admissions by various arguments of a very doubtful or slanted nature. The slanting usually is of a statistical or verbal character.

Statistically, Dr. Teller emphasizes (along with other apologists for continued testing) the "average person," ignoring the non-

uniform fallout which he has admit
and ignoring the variation between
dren and adults which he recognized,
the fact that some persons may be very
from average.

The Individual's Chances

The accidental high doses in the Bi
tests of 1954 are passed off as unlikel
happen again. How would the radia
damage graph appeal to the persons
suffered injury in these tests? And
knows whether some unforeseen worse
cident might not occur in the future?

Some of his statistical arguments ar
obscure as to be absurd or meaningl
Thus consider the following: ". . . a w
watch with a luminous dial or x-rays
medical purposes subjects us to much m
radiation than
fallout."

This surely ma
no sense—compar
radiation from
"wrist watch" or
rays," without re
ence to individual
sons, with fallout r
ation undefined w
respect to any per
of time or locality.

Again, Dr. Teller makes statistical c
parison between the dangers of fallout
smoking or being overweight, by refere
to reduction of life expectancy. (1 pack
of cigarettes a day cuts life expectancy
7 years; world-wide fallout, at present le
by less than 2 days). Such a comparison
the height of audacity without some
companying data showing the source
figures, underlying suppositions, and po
lation involved. Certainly there are con
versial questions still involved in gener
ing on cigarette smoking. In any event,
two dangers are certainly non-compara
from the point of view of the indivi
person. An individual can choose to sm
or not to smoke, but is at the mercy
government action as far as testing is c
cerned.

With regard to the effect of the dan
ous isotope, Strontium-90, in causing

* There are millions of people in the world who
never worn *any* kind of wrist watch or been exp
to *any* X-rays whatever.

ia or bone cancer, Teller estimates that

is extremely unlikely that anyone would eive a lifetime dosage of as much as 5 ntgens from the world wide fallout. If diation in this small amount does increase person's chance of getting bone cancer or ukemia the increase is so slight that it nnot be measured."

language here is obscured by the refer- to *one individual's chance* and by the of "if." Perhaps the "if" clause is cor- (although clearly the reader is meant issent), in which case, when using ab- te numbers, there would be a sizable ease in numbers of persons with leu- ia or bone cancer. That such persons not be identified is beside the question, pt as a matter of convenience for those want continued testing.

Leukemia and Bone Cancer

eller goes on to give figures on leukemia bone cancer to show that in spite of e cosmic ray dosage at the high altitude Denver, the rate of occurrence of both nses there was lower than at New Or- s and San Francisco. He asserts hope- that "the only thing these statistics e is that radition in small doses need necessarily be harmful—indeed may eivably be helpful." He adds that "in er case, the effects are so slight as to be ually unnoticeable." He neglects to tion that cosmic ray radiation may be e different in its action from fallout ation, and from Strontium-90 in partic- , so that this entire set of figures might er be entirely discounted.

ith regard to the damage done by the Bikini tests, Teller smooths over the wn injuries to the residents of Ronge- in the following words:

he important fact is that today, more than ree years after the accident, all of the Mar- allese and American victims seem to be lly recovered from a dosage of radioactiv- far greater than any humans are ever kely to be subjected to again from a bomb st."

s goes on the theory that, in the ab- e of further information, an optimistic should be taken both on the possibil- of permanent damage not yet detected on the scope of future bomb tests.

nvariably the interpretations or word-

"Educated Guesses"

". . . Literally no one really 'knows' what damage to the human race can be expected from low levels of radiation from the radioactive elements produced in bombing. We know a great deal about high-level radioactivity damage. We can extrapolate from information on lower animals such as mice and flies at various levels of radiation and deduce that as to genetic damage there is a linear relation between radiation dose and damaging effect.

"Very few persons seriously challenge the validity of this extrapolation. Those who do only point out that the magnitude of the damage at present levels of radiation due to bomb testing would be very small. They argue further that even if it did produce an additional 15,000 defectives per generation per bomb, it would be worth the cost to society.

"But the fact that the magnitude of the damage is just an 'educated guess' is the first great difficulty. The real effect may easily be only one-tenth or it might be ten times as great. No one actually knows.

"The same is true in an even more extreme way in connection with the cancer-producing effects of radioactive elements. We think, but do not really know, that Strontium-90 is the main hazard as far as cancer is concerned with low-level radioactivity from fallout. Furthermore, we do not really know how little Strontium-90 will produce cancer.

"The public should know that it will be absolutely impossible to 'know' how dangerous this element is for at least twenty years, which is the time we have found it takes for similar radioactive substances to produce cancer. The public should know that we scientists have no actual data on the carcinogenic activity of low levels of strontium-90. We are simply making 'educated guesses' again."

—Maurice B. Visscher, Head of the Dept. of Physiology, Univ. of Minnesota Medical School, Member of Governor's Committee on Atomic Energy in *The New York Times.*

ing are put in the most favorable light for continued testing. This is clearly illustrated in the following transitional passage used in turning to the question of genetic damage:

> "If fallout radiation from tests is relatively harmless to the individual compared with many risks which we habitually take and almost always ignore, what about the genetic danger to the race?"

The "if" clause here is surely meant to be interpreted by the reader as *proved*, in spite of the questionable methods used by the authors in arriving at it.

How Small Is "Small"?

The arguments with respect to genetic damage (the second part of Point 1) are again objectionable and for similar reasons. Thus, as quoted in the initial summary, he suggests that radiation from testing "will increase the chance of mutations by only a very small amount." More specifically he estimates "the atomic tests are . . . increasing the number of mutations by only about 0.1%." Of course, as in the case of lukemia and cancer, the stated percent would give a very different impression when changed into an absolute number. The question is what is a "small" number? To say that the number of mutations is *small* introduces an element of judgment which would probably call for the expert opinion of a geneticist rather than a physicist. It could even be argued that at this point he is laying down a moral judgment without calling attention to it.

Incidentally, Dr. Teller surely overplays his hand when he asks, "Should we . . . seriously believe that all mutations are harmful? That most of them are is admitted. To insist that all mutations are harmful, however, would be to deny the simplest facts of evolution."

Going back slightly, we are confronted again with an argument based on cosmic rays: since genetic effects have not been noticed in Tibet, a land of high mountains, it is not reasonable to expect damage from mutations due to atomic testing. But, as before, there is no evidence cited to show that the cosmic rays and the radiation fallout (this time via Cesium-137) operate in the same manner.

We come now to Teller's Point 2 w
emphasizes what is considered as the
tive need for continued testing. Here
indicated already, the argument hinge
the supposed urgent need of develo
"clean" bombs for tactical use to cou
act the threat of aggression from the S
Union. In Teller's words, "we must be
pared to use nuclear weapons with pr
discrimination in limited wars."

At the same time, to be safe against
sible effects of *unlimited* war from the
emy we should build fallout shelter
this country. Much stress is laid on the
cessity of avoiding "unnecessary" civ
casualties either on our side or that of
enemy. Proceeding further along t
lines, it is claimed that:

> "if we stop testing now and if we shoul
> to develop to the fullest possible extent
> clean weapons, we would unnecessarily
> a great number of noncombatants in
> future war. Not to develop the explo
> with the smallest possible radioactive fa
> would, indeed, be completely inexcusab

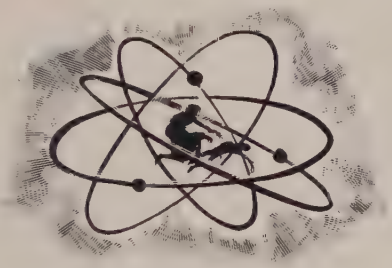
On the contrary, the thing which is
pletely inexcusable here is the way T
falls back on Orwellian (*1984*) lang
techniques. Of course there is ample p
dent for this among high officers of
government, but a scientist should be
to avoid imitating these methods. Is
"clean" bomb or the tactical bomb rea
humane instrument of limited war?
report of the atomic scientists at the
wash Conference in the summer of
emphasized that millions of persons c
be killed by "clean" bombs, as well as
bombs, by blast and heat at the instan
explosion. Moreover, there is no reaso
suppose that an enemy would feel bo
to use "clean" bombs against us (if a
able) any more than we would against t
if the bombs were being used sufficie
far from our territory. The same consi
tions that led us to drop the orig
atomic bombs on Japan could easily
us, if desperate, to use our dirtiest
most devastating bombs against a
enemy.

As far as limited war is concerned
is good reason to be skeptical of the
bility of keeping any war restricted in
under present world conditions. The re
British "White Paper" gave notice
Britain would retaliate with H-bombs

ase of an attack by conventional weap-
Certainly Russia has given ample
ats of a similar nature. And in his State
he Union message the President said
kly that the United States has the pow-
to "present to any potential attacker
would unleash war upon the world
prospect of the virtual annihilation of
own country."

The Logic of Atrocity

Dr. Teller really were concerned about
civilians in our own country and the
et Union, and other countries, he
ld hardly be expounding so logically
role of nuclear weapons in another war.
ead he would be devoting his energy,
scientific knowledge, and his reasoning
er to the task of
riding importance
the whole world—
ely preventing a
lear (or other) war
n taking place. He
ld be willing to
ordinate his role as
ther of the H-
b," and admit that
inued testing of
ombs is one factor
tributing to the
ent arms race. Furthermore, he would
d playing on words by talking about
dangers of a "disarmament race," as he
know that the present arms race is
gnized by expert military and political
orities as having the most dangerous
ntial consequences of any arms race in
ory. He would realize that this danger
t be felt in a very genuine way by the
et Union as well as ourselves, and that
might reasonably consider it to their
advantage—cold war dogmatism to the
rary—to abide by any agreement which
ld slow up the arms race and thus con-
ute to a more peaceful prospect.
erhaps it would help to put the matter
more bluntly. Planning for nuclear
—as Dr. Teller and Dr. Latter are so
ously doing—has to be recognized both
reparing for our country to commit
cities on a scale hitherto unknown in
ory, and also reciprocally preparing our-
es for atrocities of the same magnitude



to be committed against us. (It hardly would matter once the bombs and missiles went into action what country was technically guilty of dealing the first blow. Both sides would have to bear responsibility.) Dr. Teller is doing this country a disservice in allowing his scientific mind to become so disoriented.

It seems clear that Dr. Teller's case under each of his main points has collapsed under its own weight—Point 1 by virtue of falling back on slanted arguments, and Point 2 by relying, in spite of protestations to the contrary, on logic directed toward nuclear war rather than world peace.

It remains to take up the postscript to the articles. Here it might be in order to remind Dr. Teller that scientists today must set some bounds to their curiosity, to the spirit of "exploring the unknown." For one thing, it would be self-defeating to pursue this spirit so far, in a scientific experiment, as to yield world destruction. This conceivably could be done, yet science would effectively be putting an end to science in the name of science. It would be a paradox to end all paradoxes. Nevertheless, the equivalent result could occur in the not distant future if scientists fail to exercise sufficient restraint both over themselves and over other members of society—including officials of their own governments.

Scientists today must consider themselves in quite a real sense as among the guardians of the future. This requires in their thinking a scrupulous effort to transfer the scientific method to problems of life-and-death concern to the human race. It also requires a moral standard which rises above the level of the cold war, and which renounces the misuse of such instruments of thought as language, statistics, or logic. Some would go further and say that the future requires dedication of all intellectual tools, by scientists and nonscientists alike, to the goal of a world community engaged in a cooperative effort to achieve lasting peace.

BOOKS

Wind of the Spirit

TESTAMENT OF EXPERIENCE by Vera Brittain. Macmillan, 1957. 480 pp., $5.

Vera Brittain's autobiographical story of the years 1925-1950 records the wind of God blowing upon the heart of a woman often torn by the conflicting pulls of feminism, marriage, old loves, motherhood, literary ambition, political expediency, basic principle, sudden fame, humiliation, war, pacifism and religion. It is a personal experience reflecting at many points the wider experience of sensitive Britons and Americans who lived through the calamity of the Second World War and its aftermath. Thus one finds it to be another case of Professor Sorokin's dictum that the periods of social convulsion which indeed produce great evil are also the times when great religion is born.

Miss Brittain is the author of 23 books. Throughout the war, she had the pluck single-handed to write and publish a fortnightly *Letter To Peace Lovers,* as well as pamphlets opposing the hunger blockade and obliteration bombing. In this her latest book she manages to hold the reader's interest in dealing with a variety of themes, including the love story of her "semi-detached" marriage with G. which begins and ends the volume.

Readers of FELLOWSHIP will be especially interested in her conversion from League of Nations "collective security" to all-out pacifism by Dick Sheppard, and the way that she followed through on this line of principle, come war, come peace, come fair weather or foul.

In the summer of 1936, when her passion for peace was still at the stage of advocacy of sanctions against aggressors, she was invited to take part in a huge peace demonstration and found herself on the platform with Laurence Houseman, George Lansbury, Dick Sheppard and Donald Soper. Her turn to speak came after these others. She was panic-stricken. "This Christian pacifist platform," she writes, "was like no other on which I had stood; here my customary little speech in support of collective security would strike a discordant note. Its basis was political, but the message of my fellow-speakers sprang from the love of God. Yet I had prepared nothing else. Struggling to my feet I quoted Bunyan, improvised a feeble little story about the pilgrimage of the *Anciens Combattants* at Verdun, and sat down—the biggest appointment to thousands on that spec ular afternoon."

Going home on the train, Dick Shepp told her about the Fellowship of Rec ciliation and also spoke of his own Pe Pledge Union. Later he asked her to one of its sponsors. An inner struggle sued but after some months she accep

Another incident of particular imp tance to this magazine was Miss Britta pamphlet *Seed of Chaos,* a typed draft which she sent to me in New York b personal messenger with *carte blanche* edit, revise and publish in the Uni States if it got by the United States cen Corder Catchpool, a well-known Bri Quaker, had collaborated with Miss B tain in collecting news stories of the rible destruction visited upon Gerr cities by the British and American bomb raids. The article attacked this whole icy from the Christian and humanitar standpoint and set forth evidence of w had happened to the people of ten sam German cities or areas.

Miss Brittain's draft, released by American censor, reached my hands in uary 1944, and believing that it would a much wider reading if it was publis with a Foreword signed by well-kn American ministers, I persuaded Rich Roberts to write the introduction whic then sent with galley proofs of the art to a group of ministers who were inv to sign the Foreword. Twenty-eight of th did so, including Dr. Harry Emerson dick. We gave the pamphlet a new t *Massacre by Bombing,* published it a supplement to *Fellowship* and release to the press.

There was a furious reaction and, oc enough, this happened before publica of *Seed of Chaos* in England, so that Brittain soon got a deluge of letters press clippings from our side of the At tic. She says, "I felt as though I had tur on a tap expecting the usual thin tric and found that I had released Niagar stead."

Unfortunately the seed of chaos w she had discerned spread to the A-bom Hiroshima and Nagasaki and today to world wide nuclear peril.

"The wind blows where it wills," Jesus, "and you hear the sound of it, you do not know whence it come whither it goes; so is every one who is of the Spirit."

One ponders upon this as he r through *Testament of Experience.*

—JOHN NEVIN SAY

Agape Minus God

E ART OF LOVING by Erich Fromm. Har-, 1956. 133 pp., $3.

he self is the core in our personality ch is "unchangeable and which persists ughout our life in spite of varying cir-nstances, and regardless of certain nges in opinions and feelings. It is this e which is the reality behind the word and on which our conviction of our identity is based. Unless we have h in the persistence of our self, our ing of identity is threatened and we be-e dependent on other people whose ap-val then becomes the basis for the feel- of identity. Only the person who has h in himself is able to be faithful to ers, because only he can be sure that he be the same at a future time as he is ay and, therefore, that he will feel and as he now expects to. . . . Faith is one he conditions of human existence. What tters in relation to love is the faith in 's own love; in its ability to produce e in others and in its reliability."

hus Fromm pleads for depth in human erience, and for escape from the mon- of economic and social conformity that ours American life. It is sane, it is ut-y sound, it is reasonable. Too reason-e. For me, he "thinks too much," as the Joan of *The Lark* would put it. We d, in our age of glittering and eloquent ehood, the quiet voice of reason to point that "love" is not Hollywood; it is hu-n existence. And this is Fromm. But we d, much more, the white heat of pas-n from which that reason springs. And is not Fromm—or, as in the excerpt ve, only rarely and mildly so.

ertainly there is value in pointing out a man the thousand claws of the mon- of System, which control his every ve. The man, may, for example, have ome so paralyzed in its grip as to forget t it is his enemy. By quietly pointing the realities to him, one cannot, of rse, give him the incredible strength he uld need to break free. But one can e to stir in his mind some longing, some e, and some secret planning for even-l escape. If so, one has done him a real ice, without ruffling the monster (who oo stupid to recognize the subtler com-nication that lies behind the quiet d).

es, yes—but it is not enough. The mon- must be ruffled and must be chal-ged. I know Fromm *thinks* he is doing for he speaks with vision and sincerity, and he does not compromise or pull his punches. I know that if the monster were to rear up in anger and clamp him into the vise of (let us say) an un-American activities committee—that he would superbly show his mettle as a man. But I don't think he is ruffling anything that much.

What we need from our intellectuals is not that they be "writers." For as such they are always aloof. In these days the category "writer" is a very castle of respectability. The monster is still afraid of and bewildered by it. Only rarely does he try to attack those behind it. When he does so, it is counterattack, in the form of "another book" which usually carries the day. Meanwhile, he turns to an easier task. He devours the rest of helpless humanity who have no fortress to protect them. What we need from our intellectuals is that they leave all protection behind them and walk naked and unarmed, in magnificent defiance of the monster. For mankind will survive only if it learns one central truth. This is: that however hideous it may appear, Man himself remains greater than the System he has built. And humanity will not believe this truth merely by being told "about" it by the writers. The lesson will ring out only by being demonstrated. When the intellectual deliberately exposes himself to all dangers by throwing his very life with bold and utter freedom into the teeth of the monster, then and then only will his potency match the brute force of his adversary.

This he cannot do as man alone. He needs first to make the most adventurous and revolutionary discovery which man has ever dared to seek. This is: that it is not he who controls his world: it is God. Not just God "within" man, as Dr. Fromm tries to persuade himself: *God*. Not "Jesus" or "Gandhi," "Krishna" or "Gautama": *God*. Not just sweetness and light, brotherliness and forgiveness: *God*. God, in whom all past and future exist at this eternal moment. God, who precisely on schedule sets off the most gigantic supernova that has ever shaken the universe, while at the same time breathing an ocean of tenderness through a mother, for her newborn—and who balances these two cosmic and equally important episodes into a perfect harmony. God, who can take a bit of clay and sea water and create, in incredible triumph, a living cell that can reproduce itself. God, who can evolve—how amazing—out of these cells a man, and who bids the universe stand still to receive him. God, the very explosion of Freedom and Joy before

which all "evil" vanishes into the mists of unreality.

The monster of man's creation looms over us in an ugly threat. Dr. Fromm does right to assault it. But if man will seek the Truth which exists through and beyond this nightmare of his own making, his life will sing with grace and power.

ROBERT C. MURPHY JR., M.D.

Who Rules America?

THE POWER ELITE, by C. Wright Mills. Oxford University Press, 1956. 361 pp., $6.

According to Mills' provocative thesis there exists in the present structure of American society a "power elite"—groups or circles of men who make the crucial decisions in our society and determine its direction. The means of power are the hierarchies of state and corporation and army; the men of power are those who rule the big corporations, run the machinery of state and direct the military establishment.

The existence of the power elite rests upon two crucial developments: (1) the enormous expansion and concentration of power in each of the three major institutional areas—political, economic and military—and (2) the "coincidence of interests between economic, military and political institutions."

Mills describes the emergence of the "higher corporate world" as the great reality of the American economy. Similarly he delineates the ascendancy of the military and the rise of "the warlords" into the higher circles of the American elite due to the widespread acceptance of the "military definition of reality."

The "coincidence of interest" between the military and the economic orders is easily explicable in terms of the fact that "the economy is at once a permanent-war economy and a private-corporation economy."

The political order consequently reflects the structural interrelatedness of the military and the corporate economy. Given the acceptance by the "merely political men" of the military definition of reality it is not surprising to find that the top men in the political order are "the warlords and the corporate men."

In short, "the political directorate, the corporate rich and the ascendant military have come together as the power elite." This is the "interlocking directorate" which is so terribly decisive at this juncture in the development of American society.

Correlative to the development of central thesis is Mills' analysis and ref tion of the "theory of balance" which sumes that an equilibrium in political economic matters is achieved by the bal ing of competing interests. Mills argues this thesis is erroneous because it fails recognize different levels or degrees power and because it assumes that the u in balance are independent of one anot whereas in fact some of the major po units unite to promote a common inte For example, "there is no effective coun vailing power against the coalition of big businessmen . . . and the ascend military men. . . ."

Of considerable significance also is M discussion of the "transformation of pu into mass." Accompanying the emerge of the power elite at the top of Ameri society and the stalemating of balan forces on the middle levels is the fac the decline of the "public" and the ris the "mass." The "public"—character by mature discussion, opinion-forma and responsible action initiated in a r or less autonomous context of voluntar sociations—is being replaced by the "m —characterized by little or no discussio crucial issues, more opinion-receiving t opinion-forming, the increased difficult effective action and the loss of auton due to the increasing influence of penetration by the "agents of the ins tions of authority."

Finally one can only refer to what M calls "the higher immorality" of the hol of power who "have never had to win moral consent of those over whom hold this power" and who "have succe within the American system of organ irresponsibility."

The book is highly significant an thesis is very disturbing. Although *Power Elite* is thoroughly documented Mills marshals his arguments well likely to be either ignored or dismi since its implications are so tremendou an American society which has accepted "military view of reality" and been sh by it.

RICHARD A. CHART

pamphlet reviews

• *Friends and the use of the Fifth Am ment* by Alan Hunt and Paul A. Lacey. 8 Order from: Civil Liberties Committee, P delphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, Cherry Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.

A brief study of the basic legal and

its involved in "taking" the Fifth Amend-
nt. The historical background includes the
y of the Quakers, both in England and
erica, who were instrumental in making
human right an accepted law and a part
he U. S. Constitution.

What's Happening in School Integration? Harold C. Fleming and John Constable. pp., 25c. Order from Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38 Street, N.Y.C.

n analysis of the pattern of school integra- in distinct areas of the South. The au- rs examine the differing reactions and con- ient enforcement and resistance to the Su- me Court's decision on 'separate but equal' cation, in various Southern States. Since was published early in 1957 many of the istics no longer stand, but this pamphlet ains as a fair guide to the existing trend ards complete school integration and the lting social changes in the South. Another llent pamphlet in this series.

MOSCOW'S MAN OF THE YEAR

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

yer in the proletarian corporation firm Cromwell & Sullivan, where he learned the class war was not fiction but fact. this people's organization, J. F. Dulles ame steeled in revolution and achieved sympathy for democracy which has le him a resolute and unflinching oppo- t of the neo-Fascist Democratic Party. uring the Presidential election which ught D. Eisenhower and R. Nixon to White House and foreign capitals re- tively, it was J. F. Dulles who master- ded it all. With his colossal gray mat- (13 pounds) J. F. Dulles presided over elopments with the alertness of a moun- eagle, the impassivity of Siberian Vir- Lands and the revolutionary fervor of own heroic leaders (Khruschev, Bul- in, Mikoyan, Furtseva, Suslov, Stalin,

arlier, too, J. F. Dulles has shown a ak of inspiration in international poli- He managed, with what great trouble can well imagine, to be on South Ko- frontier with the North, a few days re hostilities broke out there. This was reat service to our propaganda machine. allowing our beloved General Mac- ur to say lots of foolish things and chucking him out, H. Truman some- t dimmed Soviet expectations but when Dulles's great G.O.P. thought of mak- MacArthur its presidential candidate, hopes revived.

Even as late as a month ago, J. F. Dulles, by superbly timing his article in *Life*, brought considerable discredit to American and Western policy. For this democratic, heroic, socialist act we are ever in debt to J. F. Dulles.

In this connection, we must recall how J. F. Dulles, the invincible fighter of socialism, fought a first-class action on our behalf by writing an article in *Life* some years ago on how he had brought the world to the brink of war some two or three times. This superb stroke of policy emasculated most U.S. Allies and was of tremendous value to us.

With complete disregard of his personal reputation, J. F. Dulles has all along refused to recognize the Peoples' Republic of China and thus brought that nation closer to us and still closer particularly, when they were developing such alien thoughts as letting a hundred flowers bloom. By frowning on the U.K.'s timid efforts to trade with the Peoples' Republic of China, J. F. Dulles has cleverly prevented the capitalist U.K. from reviving its economy and has caused a vast market to be lost to Europe. For this we are forever indebted to John Foster.

The refusal to grant aid for the building of Aswan Dam by Egypt was one of J. F. Dulles's unforgettable political strokes. It caused Egypt to nationalize the Suez Canal, which made U.K. and France look foolish and, when they invaded the region, crazy. The disgust this action aroused seriously weakened the influence and prestige of the U.K. and France and brought Egypt very much closer to us. For this great diplomatic act, we are specially indebted to J. F. Dulles, especially as it resulted in the resignation of Sir Anthony Eden and the fall of another French government.

The lukewarm reception to the Indian approach for a dollar loan is another remarkable act of courage, which is also derived from J. F. Dulles and his contrived and deliberate misunderstanding of nonalignment between power blocs as neutralism. By taking its time over the loan and being patronizing, a change in the Indian attitude towards the U.S.A. is bound to take place. Coupled with our loan to India, this should lose the U.S. much goodwill in that country.

There is a consensus of opinion in this country that, in choosing the Man of the Year, the chief factor should be his role in making the U.S.A. absolutely stink in the nostrils of the peoples' masses. Accordingly, many people had voted for Orval Faubus, the heroic Governor of Arkansas, who has done the greatest in this direction and helped us to the maximum. Indeed, a dozen more pictures of white hooligans pummeling elderly Negroes and colored girls, and world revolution, or at least the Afro-Asian part of it, is as good as won. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that Governor Faubus was defeated from his laudable aim of denigrating his country by the illegal and undemocratic sending of federal troops by D. Eisenhower.

In the case of J. F. Dulles, there is absolutely no fear of his ever being put out of commission unless the next election throws him out. The interval between now and then, however, gives him enough time to do mortal damage. This is the reason why we have had, reluctantly, to pass over the heroic O. Faubus for the great J. F. Dulles.

The great Soviet people, the millions of Chinese, the hundreds of thousands in the Eastern democracies and Yugoslavia, the Communist fighters in Europe and Africa and Asia bow in homage to J. F. Dulles for the great work he has done in running down Western policies. We have no doubt that in the coming year, J. F. Dulles, steeled by his varied experiences in the last so many years will refuse to give countenance to Prime Minister H. Macmillan's proposals for a nonaggression pact, will reprove the French for showing interest in the proposals, and rebuke K. Adenauer for saying that he was not against the proposal.

In the coming year, we are sure J. F. Dulles will berate non-aligned nations, create a scare in the Middle East and refuse a dime to the Indian people for rehabilitating their economy. We are certain that J. F. Dulles will in the coming year continue to refuse to recognize the existence of the Chinese Peoples' Republic. We have no doubt that the genius of J. F. Dulles will find some way to annoy and vex friendly people and bring them over to our side.

It is with this in mind that we have made J. F. Dulles our Man of the Year.

MEMO

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS
FROM: BILL MILLER

Bait—For some editors, the thought o boosting circulation brings tears to the rheumy eye. "What do we need new subscribers for?" they whine. "Aren' the old ones good enough?"

Others are so eager to sell more cop ies that they would hock their editoria offices to pay their salesmen's salaries

Much as we like our old subscribers we tend to resemble the latter, excep that our offices are not very hockable so we have to rely on slave labor fo sales help—and you can't hardly ge them no more.

Admittedly, FELLOWSHIP is not every body's dish. We are frankly a pacifis magazine and we aim to stay that way We will not slant our policy to a pros pective readership, and we will no hand out free crackerjacks, either.

But just to show that there's no mos on our backs, we will do two things.

First, we'll supply anybody with free handful of a nifty little bit o bait called *Two Questions for the Ma of Peace*, which tells about FELLOWSHI —what it is, where it has been, wher it is going.

Second, we'll gleefully fill bulk or ders for copies of the 36-page bimonth ly edition of FELLOWSHIP at a pric that hurts us more than it hurts you— ten copies for $2.

Besides this, of course, we will eage ly accept as many gift subscriptions you care to send our way, and no le eagerly enroll the names you send for free four-month trial subscription If you happen to be long on money b short on names, our friend John Nev Sayre of the IFOR has a list of peop throughout the world who would delighted to receive gift subscriptions

If these inducements are not suf cient to get you to volunteer for o slave labor department, drop me a li and make your own bid.

I hope I'll be hearing from you soo Until then, peace be with you!

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Nyack, New York

LETTERS

is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters
f general interest to its readers, within
easonable limits of space, whether they
gree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not.
ou can help to keep this column a free
orum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

Pray for Love

Editors:

the light of the meaningful step that the
of the "Golden Rule" are taking I would
to suggest to all members of the Fellow-
everywhere that we unite our hearts and
ls in a prayer that so much love flow
ugh the hearts of those men that the light
may be seen and understood by all na-
; and further, that we daily reinforce
love with our own. A great upsurge of
from hearts joined in prayer will reach
estination!

o shall my word be that goeth forth out
y mouth: it shall not return unto me void,
it shall accomplish that which I please,
it shall prosper in the thing whereto I
it."

SARAH MCLEAN
Pittsburgh, Pa.

World Police and Moral Force

Editors:

cifists are likely to have varied opinions
omething of the order of a UN police
. It seems to me more might be said for
idea than was expressed by the four
rs in the March FELLOWSHIP, all of whom
opposed.

anted that its role must be limited, that
uld not stop a war between major pow-
that other, more searching things need to
one to meet the crisis the world is in, still,
a force may represent a small gain, rather
a loss, under present circumstances.

hn Swomley sums up the character of such
N "force" very well when he said of the
used in the Israeli-Egyptian truce, that it
effective" not because of its arms, but
ause it represented world opinion, because
s moral rather than its military force." Ex-
so. "Thus it could as easily have been an
med border patrol." So again. Is that bad?
is not another way of saying that it really
ing a police job, not a military one? And
tual fact, the UN group in this case has
doing a remarkable piece of work in a
trying situation.

d yet, without the role of this tiny polic-
nstrument, it would have been impossible
hink the record bears this out—for Lester
son, Dag Hammarskjold and the others of
UN to have worked out a cease-fire pro-
. Would pacifists prefer that they should
failed? And incidentally, two quite good-
nations, France and England, also with-
drew from this war in which the UN police force played an essential part in bringing about a truce.

As for such a force being only a "palliative" and not a cure for the world's ills, this may be said for any small or partial step in the lessening of tensions. It might well be said for stopping nuclear tests, or even a very large degree of disarmament. Still other conditions would need to be met for real peace. But this is not necessarily anything against the small step. The United Nations itself may well be put in this category: it is a highly limited, imperfect instrument. It may well fail. Yet, my friend Milton Mayer notwithstanding, it is considerably more than a "league." Anyone who spends even a little time at the UN must be impressed by the effort and good faith that goes into making it at least something of a world community. This effort and experience is necessary, it seems to me, in working our way inch by inch toward the world order that we do want.

FERNER NUHN
Claremont, California

Fromm and Freedom

Dear Editors:

In the January issue, Erich Fromm makes the very plausible point that an increasing amount of insanity is related to a feeling of insecurity arising from social sources. But is it plausible to say that the need to conform to standards set by society is a reason for this insecurity?

Our lives are probably less dictated by the requirements of circumstances and of social conformity than in any previous society. The drudgery of making a living is reduced from 72 hours per week to 40. Our civil rights, infringed though they have been, are still great compared to most other contemporary or past societies. Youth is given almost unprecedented freedom from dictates from their elders. Possibly because of a need for a feeling of security they enslave themselves to conformity to their own crowd.

Freedom brings many needs to make decisions, and many choices. From the time children are in the ninth grade (in our school at least) they are made to worry about what their

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP *at least two months in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to:* Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, *Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of* FELLOWSHIP *will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)*

life work will be. They must choose their life mate, and that with the deplorable background of a love-movie concept of love. Religion is not the authoritative certainty it once was, so we have choices to make in that field. We must decide what to do with our free time. Can we afford to go to a movie this evening, and if so which one, or shall we stay home and see TV, and which of the programs that different members of the family want to see will it be? Where shall we spend our vacation?

In most societies the lives of most people have been much more determined for them. Which condition gives the greater feeling of insecurity? It seems to me that freedom c tributes to a sense of insecurity on the part many people, and to insanity.

We believe in our preciously won freedo and we will strive for more freedom, but must do this recognizing that mental hea problems may multiply, and not in the h that it will cause any reduction in the pr lems. We hope that mental illness can be duced, but we cannot entertain the Marx hope that this can be done by changing ciety—at least not in any direction that are willing to change it.

RICHARD POME
Altadena, Calif

ADVERTISEMENTS

THE PRAYER FOR PEACE of St. Francis of Assisi—50 for one dollar—Write to St. Leo Shop, 118 Washington Street, Newport, Rhode Island.

HATE WEEK: Pentagon promotes international hatred at *Defense Budget* seasons, sold by U.S. Committee Against Militarization. Remit 10c to A. Bofman, 6327 S. May, Chicago 21, Illinois.

THE PROBLEM OF PEACE is the problem of the whole of life. A peaceful world stems from integrated solutions to a complex of life-pr lems. Join discussion of them in *Balanced L ing*, School of Living monthly, Brookville, O

CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS interested in cons ering a nonviolent, primitive Christian appro to the problem of world peace are invited write for information on The Peace Associat of Christian Scientists to Byron Belden, P Box 625, Guymon, Oklahoma. (This is an int national association for the promotion and tension of a Christianly Scientific peace, members of which refrain from participation war. It functions as a private enterprise and as an agency of the Christian Science Churc

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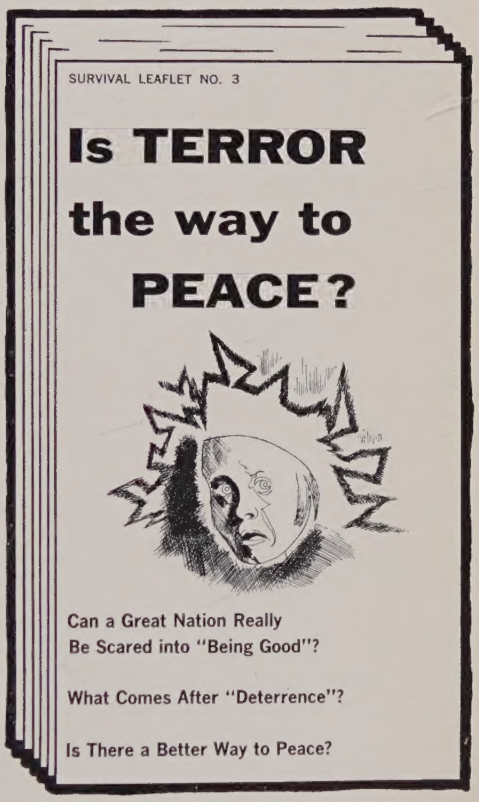
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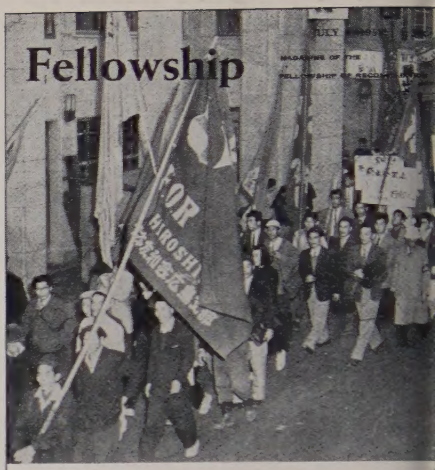

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In case you are wondering why the bottom one-third of the July first issue cover blank, the reason is that we are not able, as we go to press, to announce the contents the issue in detail. We expect to feature articles by Toyohiko Kagawa, C. F. von We säcker and a number of other people who have agreed either to write an article pressly for our July number, or to make available to FELLOWSHIP material that has previously appeared in an American periodical. Frankly, we had hoped to have t material sufficiently in hand at this time to list the contents of the issue in full det but unforeseen delays in communication with busy authors have made this impossible

For a full announcement, see the next issue of FELLOWSHIP's twice-monthly Pea Information Edition. We think it will point up the headline of this advertiseme "Don't Miss the July 1 Issue"!

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